MODERN LANGUAGES IN THE ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL

BY

ISIDORE GOLDSTICK

PB
38
.C3
G6

NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE

TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

MODERN LANGUAGES IN THE ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOL

A HISTORICAL STUDY

BY

ISIDORE GOLDSTICK

TORONTO:

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

1928

Reprinted from
Modern Language Instruction in Canada
Vol. II (1928)

PB38.C3G6

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Pioneer Private Schools of Upper Canada	30
II.	Strachan and the Teaching of French	33
III.	French in the Early Grammar Schools (1807-1853)	41
IV.	French in the Early Days of Upper Canada College	63
V.	The French Invasion (1854-1865)	79
VI.	The Classical Rivalry (1866-1870)	102
VII.	The Admission of German	117
VIII.	In the Class-room (1854-1870)	128
IX.	The Formula of 1871 (1871-1875)	140
X.	The Intermediate Examination and the New Status of Modern Languages (1876-1882)	160
XI.	The Rise of a New Ideology and the Advent of the Modern Language Specialist (1883-1904)	183
XII.	The Last Phase (1904-1928)	217
	Bibliography	246

67899

PREFACE

A hundred years ago Dr. John Strachan, as president of the General Board of Education, submitted a detailed report to the Lieutenant-Governor on the state of the schools in Upper Canada. In none of the eleven grammar schools then in operation did he mention French as a subject of instruction. In point of fact there were that year in the grammar schools of the province—four scholars studying French. But their number dwindled down to two before the year was up, and ten years later there were none. It is a long cry from 1828 to 1928. A year ago—these are the latest available figures—there were in the provincial secondary schools under government control over sixty thousand pupils engaged in the study of French as well as many hundreds in German. How this transformation has come about will be told in the following pages.

In the present work the writer purposes to trace the origin and development of the study of modern languages in the Ontario high school, and thus makes an excursion into a region hitherto but scantily explored—the history of the Ontario secondary school curriculum. Only one side of this curriculum is here singled out for special investigation, but an attempt is made to show its relation to the subject as a whole and, in a measure, also to weave the story of modern language study into the general history of education in the province. For, obviously, the development of a school subject cannot be studied either in isolation from the larger programme or without regard to the general educational movements or the interplay of forces which give rise to them.

It is well to state here that the following account deals with the teaching of modern languages in the English

schools of Ontario. The schools in French or German settlements, staffed and attended by French or German teachers and pupils, do not come within the purview of the present discussion.

The writer cannot resist the pleasure of acknowledging his indebtedness to a number of persons who have in various ways helped him in the preparation of this work. Thanks are due to Mr. R. H. B. Cook, draughting instructor of the London Technical and Commercial High School, for the precision and skill with which he has executed the drawings that appear in the history. The writer is indebted to his colleague, Miss Doris Plewes, and his niece, Miss Ellen Dworkin, for obtaining some information for him. He wishes to thank sincerely Professor A. H. Young of Trinity College for replies to enquiries. To the Canadian Committee on Modern Languages grateful acknowledgment is made for assistance in securing some data. Professor Fred Landon, librarian of the University of Western Ontario, has read all the proofsheets as well as the manuscript of the earlier chapters, and sincere acknowledgment is here made for his kindness. The author is under obligation to Mr. A. Stevenson, late of the London Normal School, who has read the entire typescript and given him the benefit of his critical literary judgment, and he owes thanks to Mrs. Goldstick for help of various kinds, and particularly for typing the whole manuscript.

I. GOLDSTICK

Sir Adam Beck Collegiate Institute,
London, Ontario, 1928.

Chapter I

The Pioneer Private Schools of Upper Canada

When the nineteenth century opened only a very small part of Ontario, then known as Upper Canada, was either inhabited or habitable. It was for the most part an unsettled wilderness. In 1798, according to a settler of that time, York, the capital of Upper Canada, was "a dreary, dismal place, not even possessing the characteristics of a village" and lacking all "the ordinary signs of civilization."[1] What scattered settlements there were in those days were mainly confined to the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Niagara, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Here had settled bodies of United Empire Loyalists and small groups of Scottish and Irish immigrants.

At the beginning of the century Upper Canada had a population of about 50,000. York, though the seat of the government, had in 1819 only 1,200 inhabitants, and "there were but three brick edifices in the town."[2] The other most important centres of population of the time were Kingston and Newark (Niagara).

In these larger places, and in a few other centres there sprang up during the pioneering days of the last decade of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century a number of private secondary schools, the forerunners of the grammar schools and high schools of later years. The earliest of these was the Rev. John Stuart's "Select Classical School" at Cataraqui (afterwards Kingston), opened in 1785, during the first years of the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in Upper Canada; the most famous was the Cornwall school, kept

[1]See Caniff, *History of the Province of Ontario*, pp. 530-531.

[2]Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan*, p. 4.

by John Strachan from 1804 to 1812. Other notable schools were the Rev. Robert Addison's school at Newark, which was opened in 1792, and the "Classical School" of Dr. W. W. Baldwin, father of the Hon. Robert Baldwin, established at York in 1802. There were besides a number of other lesser known schools.

The pioneer private schools and the early grammar schools of Upper Canada were patterned after the model of the secondary schools in the motherland. There was a conscious attempt to transplant in the new country the educational ideals and practices of the old land. Hence the curriculum in these early schools was predominantly classico-mathematical; the absorbing subjects were Latin and mathematics. Along with the more advanced studies in these schools instruction was also given in the elementary school subjects, for there was, of course, no strict differentiation between elementary and secondary schools. The focal place in the programme of studies was, however, held by the languages of antiquity and mathematics.

Under these circumstances we do not expect to find that French was taught in the pioneer private schools of Upper Canada in the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries. In fact, we have no certainty that this language was taught anywhere in Upper Canada before the second decade of the nineteenth century. The available information about the earliest schools is meagre and fragmentary. Our knowledge of some of them is limited to the name of the master and the location of the school. In only a few cases has the curriculum been preserved for us. Of the earliest of these schools, that of the Rev. Dr. John Stuart at Kingston, opened in 1785, we know very little beyond the fact that it was a "Select Classical School." We do,

however, possess some precise information respecting the programme of studies pursued both at Baldwin's and Strachan's schools.

Dr. William Warren Baldwin opened his "Classical School" at York in 1803. His notice of opening which appeared on December 17, 1802, outlined a programme of studies, typical of the schools of the time:

> "Understanding that some of the gentlemen of this town have expressed much anxiety for the establishment of a Classical School, Doctor Baldwin begs leave to inform them and the public that he intends on Monday, the third of January next, to open a school, in which he will instruct twelve boys in reading, writing, the classics and arithmetic.
>
> The terms are for each boy eight guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly. One guinea extra as entrance fee, and one cord of wood to be supplied by each boy on the opening of the school."[1]

It is clear that French had no place in the curriculum of Baldwin's school at York.

Nor is there any likelihood that it was taught by the Rev. John Strachan (later Archdeacon of York) at his Cornwall school which was opened in 1804, despite his evident interest in and advocacy of the subject. The course of study at Mr. Strachan's school was unusually comprehensive; the range of subjects was astonishingly modern, although the place of pre-eminence continued to be held by the traditional subjects. Such was the fame of Mr. Strachan's school that numerous accounts of the curriculum have come down to us. None of them make any mention of French. A full account of the curriculum in Strachan's school will be found in the following chapter.

[1]Quoted by Hodgins, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 21.

The pioneer secondary schools of Upper Canada, as already indicated, were primarily schools for the study of classics and mathematics. In this they followed British precedents. They were designed to educate the gentlemen of Upper Canada, and a knowledge of classical lore, in Upper Canada as in Britain, was a mark of the gentleman. Although the other more practical studies entering into a complete education were not neglected, the goal of a secondary education was proficiency in Latin and mathematics. The modern languages had not yet found their way into the school curriculum.

Chapter II

Strachan and the Teaching of French

The Rev. John Strachan, afterwards Bishop of Toronto, was one of the earliest advocates of the study of French in the grammar schools of Upper Canada, and was probably one of the first teachers of that language in the English schools of the province. So vast was Strachan's influence on education in Upper Canada that his advocacy of French was not without effect on the schools.

Dr. Strachan was the educational genius of the province for nearly half a century. Most of the early educational legislation is traceable to his influence, an influence which is also discernible in the educational theory and practice of his day. John Strachan arrived in Canada an impecunious but gifted young graduate of a Scottish university to accept a position as teacher, and remained actively engaged in the business of teaching for twenty-three years after his arrival. His deep concern in education did not abate throughout his long life.

John Strachan came to this country upon the invitation of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, one of the leading

citizens of Kingston, with the expectation of being put in charge of a proposed college or university. Although only twenty-two years of age at the time, he was considered well qualified for the post, both because of his academic attainments (he was a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, and had been a student of divinity at the University of St. Andrews) and because of his proficiency as a teacher, gained during two years' teaching experience in Scotland. Upon his arrival in Kingston on the last day of the year 1799 he was unspeakably mortified to learn that the project of founding a college had come to grief. Strachan remained in Canada simply because he had not enough money to pay for his passage back. For the next three and a half years he was tutor to the sons of the Hon. Richard Cartwright and a few other select pupils in the town of Kingston. He remained there until 1803, when he was ordained as Anglican minister and made rector of the church in the village of Cornwall.

Here he opened a classical school which presently grew famous and attracted pupils from all parts of the country, becoming the leading school of the province. This school was later (1807) converted into the grammar school of the Eastern District. From Cornwall Strachan went to York in 1812, as Rector of York and headmaster of the Home District Grammar School, better known as "The Old Blue School". He held this position for eleven years, relinquishing it only in 1823, when he was appointed chairman of the newly created General Board of Education for Upper Canada. Strachan secured the charter for King's College (afterwards the University of of Toronto) in 1827 and was its president until 1849. He was also the founder (1851) and first chancellor of the University of Trinity College. Strachan's growing fame and recognition were demonstrated by his appoint-

ment as a member of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, his elevation to the dignity of Archdeacon of York and eventually to that of Bishop of Toronto. Such, in outline, was the career of the great teacher who had a larger share than any other man in his day in shaping the educational destiny of Ontario.

On a number of occasions Strachan, as has been said, recommended the teaching of French in the secondary schools of Upper Canada and, as we shall see, introduced it himself into the Home District Grammar School.

As early as 1815 Dr. Strachan counselled that French be put in the curriculum of the district grammar schools:

> "The following branches of education should be taught at the district grammar schools, with such other branches as the teacher and trustees may think fit, videlicet: The Latin, French and English languages,—writing, arithmetic, geography and practical mathematics."[1]

The foregoing is an excerpt from a "Report on Education" written by Strachan in 1815. The report is in the form of a series of resolutions on university, secondary, and elementary education. With respect to the grammar schools he recommends the submission of annual reports by the trustees on the state of the schools, annual public examinations, and the gratuitous tuition of ten scholars at each grammar school. These recommendations were carried out before long. Nor was Strachan's advocacy of French in 1815 entirely fruitless, for there were in the following year at least two grammar schools in which French was taught.

Dr. Strachan, it appears, remained steadfast in his opinion that French was a desirable subject for the

[1]Quoted by Hodgins from Strachan's Private Letter Books, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. V, p. 304.

grammar school curriculum. To combat the evils attendant upon the unchecked diversity in the programmes of the grammar schools, Strachan, as president of the General Board of Education, drew up in 1829 an outline of study for these schools. His object was to introduce into them "a greater uniformity of system, and to supply, in some measure, the want of experience to younger teachers."[1]

This proposed programme of studies is noteworthy for its inclusion of French. He recommends that French be begun in the second year and be continued throughout the remainder of the course. The outlined course was recommended only, since the Board had no power to enforce any curriculum.

In a brochure on the "Management of Grammar Schools"[2], published in 1829, in which he outlines a comprehensive curriculum for these schools, Strachan mentions French among the subjects suited for study in the grammar schools. French is to be begun in the second year of the five year course, at about the age of ten. It thus takes precedence, in his scheme, in point of time of beginning, over Greek, which is not to be commenced before the third year. Text-books are suggested for the various studies, but no specific ones are recommended for French, due, no doubt, to the dearth of such books. It is not clear whether or not his suggested list of subjects is meant to be arranged in what he considered to be their order of importance. If such was the intention, then French is obviously given a position of subordination, for it is placed, in every year, at the end of the list. The

[1]From Strachan's report to the Lieutenant-Governor, quoted in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, pp. 265ff.

[2]*A Letter to the Rev. A. N. Bethune . . . on the Management of Grammar Schools.*

place of honour in every case is accorded to Latin, which is followed in order by Greek (from the third year on), English (which comprised also civil and natural history as well as geography), mathematics, and lastly French. The proposed course of study has many points of interest, both illustrating Strachan's conception of the content of a secondary school education and throwing light on the practice in the best types of grammar schools of the time. The aim of secondary school education, according to Strachan, is "the preparing of youth for the university" and also "to qualify young men for the different professions", if they do not desire to proceed to the university. The course outlined is of five years' duration. This continued to be the typical length of the grammar school course until 1871.

In his pamphlet Strachan says, in respect to the course suggested for the grammar schools: "In presenting a detailed account of the mode of carrying this course of study into effect, I shall not indulge in any imaginary process, but give you the actual practice of a school which flourished twenty-five years in this province". This need not be taken to signify literally that every item and book mentioned was studied at the Cornwall school. It is the *mode* of carrying the course into effect that he wishes to present,—the methods pursued and the manner in which the classes were conducted. He is concerned not so much with the subject matter as with the method of presentation. This he proceeds to exemplify in detail and at considerable length. The phrase "this course" must not be taken to imply that we have here an exact reproduction of the programme of his school in Cornwall, for it is reasonably certain, from the evidence that we possess, that French, at any rate, did not form part of the programme. This subject, as far as can be

ascertained, was not introduced into Strachan's school until after he removed to York.

In the pamphlet referred to above he describes in minute detail the manner in which every hour of every day of the week was employed in his school.[1] He designates it, as we have seen, as "a school which flourished for twenty-five years in this province", referring apparently to his combined experience at Kingston, Cornwall, and York, but more particularly, it would seem, to the practice at Cornwall. French is not mentioned among the subjects studied. The school was opened with prayer at 9 o'clock in the morning. The first hour of the school day was spent in reading the register of the preceding day and in reading and discussing selections from history. At the same time the English reading classes were heard by the second master and the monitors. From 10 o'clock to 11.30 Greek and Latin were taken up. Between 11.30 and 1 o'clock, when school was dismissed, the classes were exercised in writing. The first hour of the afternoon (2 o'clock to 3 o'clock) was spent, by the more advanced pupils, in the study of mathematics, while the lower class had another lesson in English reading. The last hour of the day was devoted to the classics. Besides the daily routine of studies there were some subjects that were taken up only once a week in place of some of the regular daily subjects. On Monday there was practice in elocution, on Tuesday morning there was a lesson in civil history, and in the afternoon a lesson in arithmetic. On Wednesday natural history was taken up, on Thursday geography, on Friday, English grammar, and on Saturday, religion and composition. Thus it is clear that French had no place in the programme.

Contemporary accounts of the studies pursued in

[1]Cf. Bethune, *Memoirs of Bishop Strachan*, Chap. III.

Strachan's school at Cornwall make no mention of French. Dr. Hodgins[1] quotes an account published in the *Upper Canada Gazette and Canadian Oracle* (August 4, 1805) of a public examination held in the school in 1805. The subjects of the examination are enumerated:

> "The Latin classics, arithmetic, bookkeeping, elements of mathematics, elements of geography, of natural and civil history. The boys acquitted themselves with great credit; neither is it easy to declare in which branch of learning they succeeded best. The whole was interspersed with different pieces of poetry and prose, many of the most humorous cast, composed for the occasion."

From a series of letters, addressed to their parents by George and Thomas Ridout,[2] scholars at the Cornwall school, and written in 1806 and 1807, we catch a glimpse of the things taught:

> ". . . We came on pretty well in Sallust and we have begun Euclid. Mr. Strachan has given us books. . . . The Euclid we have is Simson's. Tom comes on well in his ciphering and bookkeeping, and is at the head of his reading class, which is a large one, consisting of twelve or fourteen boys."

and in another letter:

> ". . . I come on middling well, and am going into book-keeping on Monday. I got a quire of paper to-day from Mr. Strachan, to make my book. Mr. Strachan has not struck me yet, nor has he been angry. We have finished our grammar and are learning it by heart every morning.
>
> ". . . We stay up every night till about twelve or one o'clock, and we have got so used to it that we don't mind it. We repeat four problems a week, and I am two from the head."

Dr. A. N. Bethune, Bishop Strachan's successor in the See, who had himself been a pupil at Strachan's Cornwall

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 34.
[2] Lady Edgar, *Ten Years in Upper Canada*, Chap. II.

school and later an assistant teacher at his school in York, has furnished us with a minute account of the course of studies pursued at the school in Cornwall.[1] He enumerates in considerable detail and with profuse comment the subjects taught and the methods employed, mentioning reading, dictation, Latin, arithmetic, algebra, writing, geography, natural history, civil history, debating, and versification, but makes no allusion to French.

If French had no place in the programme of studies at Strachan's Cornwall school, it was not, as we have seen, because of his indifference to this subject. As early as 1802, when still in Kingston, he had entertained the project of going to Lower Canada to gain practice in spoken French. In a letter dated October 23, 1802, and addressed to his friend, Dr. Brown, professor of natural history at St. Andrew's, Scotland, he tells of the "probability of a church becoming vacant (apparently referring to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Montreal) by the time my engagement expires, worth about £200 cur. or £180 sterling; if that happen, I shall accept of it—if not —I shall first go to the Lower Province and learn to speak French, etc."[2]

At his school in Cornwall he was probably hampered, to some extent, from completely carrying into effect his conception of a liberal education. The exigencies of circumstances demanded some compromise. The desire of the parents for the early completion of their sons' schooling in order that they might embark in mercantile pursuits had to be met. Strachan complains that in those early days the education of boys had to be largely of a "practical nature and far inferior to what would be

[1] *Memoirs of Bishop Strachan*, Chap. III.
[2] Letter in the Ontario Bureau of Archives, pk. 63.

necessary. . . . Their parents are anxious to get them introduced to business and they cannot appreciate the advantages of a liberal system of education."[1]

In sponsoring the study of French, as in many of his other educational tenets and practices, he was in advance of his time. Although the programme of studies at Cornwall evidently did not comprise that language, we know with certainty, as will be shown in the next chapter, that French had a place, though admittedly an inferior one, in the curriculum of the Home District Grammar School at York, in 1816, under the mastership of Dr. Strachan. If, as seems probable, Strachan himself gave the instruction in the subject, he has the distinction of being one of the first teachers of French in the province.[2]

Chapter III

French in the Early Grammar Schools (1807-1853)

The story of the study of French in the early grammar schools of Upper Canada cannot always be traced with accuracy in respect to all the details. The available data are often sketchy in character. In the information that has come down to us there are many gaps that a diligent inquiry has been unable to fill. However, in spite of numerous obscurities of detail, the general features of the story are clear enough. It is manifest that French did

[1]In a letter to Dr. Brown, dated Cornwall, July 13, 1816, in "Strachan Papers" in the Ontario Bureau of Archives.

[2]I quote the following from a note kindly furnished to me by Professor A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto, an authority on Bishop Strachan: "As I have not found any real evidence as to his having an assistant in his school at York so early as 1816, he must have handled the French himself, As his assistants appear to have been, for the most part, young men who were reading theology with him or who were acting as his curates, he is more likely than they to have been able to teach the subject effectively." Professor Young also informs me that a few French volumes were included among the books bequeathed by Strachan to Trinity College.

not obtain a firm foothold in the curriculum of the Upper Canada grammar schools before about the middle of the nineteenth century. Instruction in French prior to that time was largely incidental. It was taught in very few schools and either to single pupils or very small groups. There were neither teachers qualified to give instruction in the subject, nor was it generally regarded as a legitimate grammar school study. It was considered to be at best merely a desirable polite accomplishment.

The earliest information about the teaching of French in the secondary schools of Upper Canada that a patient search has been able to bring to light out of the past dates back to 1816. There were in 1816 two grammar schools giving instruction in French, the Home District School at York and the Eastern District School at Cornwall. The York and Cornwall schools were two of the eight district schools that had been created, in 1807, under the authority of the Public School Act of that year.

The year 1807 is a memorable date in the educational history of Ontario. It is the earliest important landmark on the road to state-aided and state-controlled education. That year saw the passing of the first effective, though still very rudimentary, legislation dealing with education. This legislative measure was the embryo from which, in the course of time, the educational structure of the Province was evolved. The Act of 1807 effectively provided, for the first time, for a modicum of state aid to education. Prior to that year the support of school education in Upper Canada was entirely a matter of voluntary effort. The schools had been wholly dependent for their subsistence either on fees or, in the case of the schools for the poor, on charity.[1]

[1]Only in one or two cases had a meagre subsidy been given by the Government.

The Act of 1807 created eight grammar schools, as these secondary schools soon came to be styled,[1] one in each of the eight districts of the province. It apportioned an annual stipend of £100, payable out of the provincial treasury, to each of the eight masters of these schools. These masters were to be selected by the trustees of the districts concerned. The only central control stipulated by the Act was in the appointment of the trustees and the acceptance or rejection of the teachers chosen by them. These powers were vested in the Lieutenant-Governor. The Act did not purpose any other centralized direction, control, or supervision of education, nor was any curricular prescription or guidance meditated. The Act of 1807 remained in force, with but few emendations, until 1853.

The legislative provision of 1807 effected no immediate changes in the curriculum of any of the existing secondary schools that were converted into district grammar schools, nor any departure from the prevailing practices in the new schools created under the authority of the Act. The curricula continued to be as varied as were the tastes of the individual masters.

Not only was there no uniformity in the subjects of instruction, but there was diversity even in the character of the schools. Some of the grammar schools gave courses of study differing but little from those of the government aided common (elementary) schools that sprang up a few years later. Both types of schools received young pupils and both taught elementary subjects. The grammar schools, of course, retained their

[1]The schools were originally named "Public Schools" after the great English Public Schools of which they were intended to be replicas. The term "grammar schools" was not officially applied to them before 1839. In practice, however, they had been styled "grammar schools" almost from their inception.

pupils longer and introduced them into the higher branches. But the common schools, too, sometimes taught Latin and higher mathematics to their more gifted scholars. What distinguished the two classes of schools, then, was not entirely either the ages of the pupils or the subjects of instruction, though these constituted the most important bases of differentiation. The distinction was, in a large measure, a social one. The grammar schools, charging relatively high fees to supplement the meagre government grant, were designed for the children of the wealthy, the elementary schools for the mass of the population.

Nine years elapsed between the passing of the Public (Grammar) School Act (1807) and the Common School Act (1816). The first had made provision chiefly for the education of the select, the latter was designed for the people in general. The Act of 1816 marked the culmination of a long and acrimonious popular struggle against the exclusive and undemocratic nature of the grammar schools.

The Common School Act of 1816 was passed as a compromise measure between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. It was designed to remedy the shortcomings of the Grammar School Act by making provision for the establishment of elementary schools in "any town, township, village or place." The Act was passed on April 1, 1816.

Four months later an inquiry was made by the office of the Lieutenant-Governor into the state of the grammar schools. This was perhaps an echo of the educational imbroglio of that year. The immediate cause of the inquiry is not clear, since no allusion is made to it in the proceedings of the House of Assembly and no records have been preserved of the proceedings of the Legislative

Council for the year 1816.[1] From unpublished returns in the Public Archives of Canada[2] it appears that a circular was sent out from the office of the Lieutenant-Governor on August 19, 1816, addressed to the trustees of the grammar schools and asking for detailed information on the state of the schools under their supervision, the number of pupils, the branches taught, and the text-books used. The provisions of the Grammar School Act, it will be recalled, did not require reports from the trustees. This inquiry was then probably the result of the widely prevalent popular dissatisfaction with the schools.

The answers to the circular justified, in a great measure, this dissatisfaction, since they revealed the sad state into which many of these schools had sunk. Replies were received from seven of the eight grammar schools. Two of these schools, those of the Eastern district (in Cornwall) and the district of New Castle (in the Township of Hamilton), the reports show were closed that year; the grammar school at Sandwich in the Western district was at a low ebb, and the school in the district of London had fewer than ten pupils, only one of whom was taking Latin.[3] The low state of the schools is perhaps attributable, in some measure, to the effects of the recent war. In Sandwich, for example, the school building had been occupied by troops. The schools reporting favourably were those in the Johnstown, Midland, and Home districts, situated

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 94, ft. note.

[2] "Educational Papers," folio I.

[3] The Chairman of the board of trustees in this school, an illiterate old man named William Hutchison, is very apologetic in his reply to the Lieutenant-Governor: "I must humbly confess I feele more guilty of neglect in this trust than any other that ever was committed to my cair tho I served his Majesty in divers situations near 50 years." He pleads "want of education and being now fast advancing in a second stage of childhood."

respectively in the township of Augusta,[1] in Kingston, and York.

The grammar school reports of 1816 are of special interest for the purpose of the present inquiry, inasmuch as they contain the first available positive reference to the teaching of French in English schools of Upper Canada. French is mentioned in the returns from the Home District Grammar School (at York) under the superintendence of Strachan and the Cornwall Grammar School under the Rev. W. D. Baldwyn B.A. prior to his resignation and the closing of the school on April 26. The reference to French is only a passing one in both reports.

It appears that no French was taught at the Cornwall Grammar School under the Reverend John Bethune who succeeded Dr. Strachan in 1812. The report says:

> "The branches of education which, as we are informed, were taught by Mr. Bethune were the English and Latin languages, writing, arithmetic, geography and mathematics, and during Mr. Baldwyn's superintendence, the Latin, Greek, French and English languages, with writing and arithmetic, if required, as he himself reports."[2]

The report speaks disparagingly of Mr. Baldwyn's fitness as a teacher: "From what we have learnt we think it necessary to state that the hours of tuition of Mr. Baldwyn were extremely irregular and his general superintendence such as to diminish the respectability of the school and not to make it an object for the attendance of any scholars for the purpose of tuition."

The curriculum of the Home District Grammar School at York under Strachan in 1816 is set forth in consider-

[1]The Johnstown District Grammar School was transferred to Brockville in 1819.

[2]"Educational Papers," No. 11, Public Archives of Canada.

able detail. The school then had an attendance of about 40.

> "Branches of Education taught, English language, Latin language, arithmetic, bookkeeping, mathematics, pure and mixed, geography, natural history, civil history, religion.
>
> "Taught when required:
>
> "The Greek and French languages, and all such branches as usually enter into an academic education."[1]

It is manifest from this report that the status of French in the Home District School, as probably also in Cornwall, was a subordinate one. It was "taught when required". It had not yet attained the rank of a legitimate school study. It was taught as an incidental subject for which probably an extra fee was charged. No French was taught in any of the other schools reporting. The inferior position of French in Strachan's school is further attested to by its omission from the public examinations held on August 7, 1816,[2] and August 11, 1819.[3]

French passed out of the curriculum of the Eastern District School (Cornwall) after the retirement of Baldwyn and the subsequent reorganization of the school.[4] There is no evidence that it was taught between 1816 and 1858.[5] French probably continued to be taught at the Home District School in York until the withdrawal of Dr. Strachan in 1828. The few available reports after that date contain no mention of French. It was not

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 14.

[2] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 108.

[3] Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, p. 157.

[4] "Educational Papers," No. 11.

[5] French was not embraced in the curriculum of the school, according to the reports of the trustees, in 1827, 1828, 1831, and 1838. (Those reports are to be found in the appendices to the journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada.) The annual reports of the superintendent of education show that French was not taught in Cornwall between 1854 and 1858. In 1858 there were 12 pupils studying this subject.

taught in 1827 and 1828[1] nor as late as 1849.[2] It was reintroduced sometime between 1849 and 1854. In the latter year the Toronto Grammar School (formerly the Home District School) had 24 pupils who were studying French."[3]

The first amendment to the Grammar School Act of 1807 was made in 1819. One of the provisions of the Grammar School Amendment Act of that year is of especial interest for the purpose of the present investigation, namely, that which required the trustees of each district to hold an annual public examination and to submit to the Lieutenant-Governor annually, after the public examination, a report on "the state of the said schools, the number of scholars, the state of education, with the different branches taught." From the reports to the Lieutenant-Governor that have been preserved information can be gleaned about the curricula of the schools. Many of the reports extant throw light on the status of French in the grammar schools of Upper Canada prior to the middle of the century.[4] The new Act wrought

[1]Appendices to the journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for 1828 and 1829.

[2]Original Report in "Sundries" No. 581, in the Public Archives of Canada.

[3]Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education, 1854, p. 46.

[4]These reports were not always published in the proceedings of the House; none were published for the early twenties. A number of the original returns are to be found in the Public Archives in Ottawa. A collection of miscellaneous documents, grouped together under the title of "Educational Papers" and consisting almost exclusively of petitions, reports, etc., addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor, contains, in addition to those already quoted, the following grammar school reports: 1823, reports from the Eastern and Gore district grammar schools; 1824, reports from the district schools of Kingston and Niagara; 1826, a report of the Niagara District School; 1828, reports of the Johnstown district school; 1830, Niagara, London, Midland, Newcastle, and Western district school reports; 1835, from the Gore, Western, and London districts; 1839 and 1841, from Upper Canada College. In addition to these the "Educational Papers" contain also numerous reports on district common schools. Another collection of original documents in the archives, entitled "Upper Canada

no changes in the studies of the grammar schools. The best schools continued to adhere to the classical traditions, the worst, as before, differed but little from the common schools of the day and taught, for the most part, the elementary school subjects.

Nor did the creation of the General Board of Education in 1823 under the presidency of the Rev. John Strachan really effect any curricular reforms in the schools. The General Board of Education was intended to be a centralizing agency in education and had under its supervision both the district and common schools of Upper Canada. It was, however, short-lived, passing out of existence in 1833.

The available periodical returns from the grammar schools are incomplete and are entirely missing for some of the years.[1] The earliest reports extant, with the exception of the two reports of 1816 noted above, are negative as regards French. There was no French taught in the grammar schools of the Gore district (Hamilton) in 1823, in the Midland (Kingston) and Niagara districts in 1824, nor in the Niagara District Grammar School in 1826.[2]

The returns for the next year[3] are more complete than usual. There are returns from all but four schools. In none of the schools reporting was French taught.[4]

Sundries" besides many reports on common schools, contains reports for the following years and the following district grammar schools; 1845, Gore, Ottawa, and Simcoe; 1846, Brock and Ottawa; 1847, reports on the grammar schools in Niagara and St. Catharines; 1848, reports on the grammar schools of Wellington, Bathurst, Ottawa, Dalhousie, Victoria, Gore, Prince Edward, Johnstown, Niagara, Huron, Home, Simcoe, Talbot, Western, Colborne and Newcastle. In addition to these original documents in the Public Archives there are numerous published reports in the appendices to the journals of the House of Assembly.

[1]The writer has been able to find only four reports for the period of six years between the passing of the Grammar School Amendment Act (1819) and 1826.

[2]"Educational Papers," Public Archives of Canada.

[3]Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1828.

[4]The Western (Sandwich), Niagara, Home (York), Newcastle (Cobourg), Midland (Kingston), Eastern (Cornwall) and Ottawa (Longueil) district grammar schools.

During the first six months of 1828 there were only four grammar school pupils in Upper Canada learning French.[1] They were scholars of the Gore District Grammar School in Hamilton. French was taught in none of the other grammar schools of the province[2] that year. By the second half of the year the four French scholars had dwindled down to two[1], and the following year the study of French was discontinued entirely in the Gore District Grammar School. The Gore District School was one of the largest of the time, having an enrolment of 65. The discontinuance of French was probably incident to the removal of the female scholars from the school. "The most material alteration in the condition of the school during the last six months", the headmaster reports,[1] "consists in the absence of female scholars, arising from the inconvenience of my present school room, and the establishment of a female school in the village."[3] It is possible that the French instruction interrupted in the grammar school was resumed in the "female school in the village". The knowledge of French was often regarded as an accomplishment especially befitting women.

As president of the General Board of Education Strachan had made a fruitless attempt, in 1829, to introduce greater uniformity into the curricula of the grammar schools. With that end in view, and also for the guidance

[1]See reports from the individual schools in the Appendix to the Journals for 1829.

[2]The reports for the year are complete for all the schools except that of the Bathurst district in Perth, from which no report was received. There is only one report available from that school before 1849. That report is negative as regards French. It is reasonable to assume that the Perth school, like the other nine grammar schools, taught no French that year.

[3]In his report to Lieutenant-Governor Colborne in 1828 Dr. Strachan expressed dissatisfaction with the practice of admitting girls in some of the grammar schools, "as the admission of female children interfered with the government which is required in classical seminaries."

of inexperienced teachers, he had drawn up a proposed course of study (see p. 36 ante), whose adoption, it was claimed, "would be highly beneficial, and produce a higher standard of education through the province."[1] It was a comprehensive course, and comprised also the study of French, from the second school year on. The proposed course was never officially carried into effect and the adoption of the recommendations regarding the studies was entirely voluntary.

Of the early grammar schools only one school is definitely known to have given instruction in French uninterruptedly for three years, *viz.*, the Newcastle District Grammar School in Cobourg from 1829 to 1831. In another school, that of the Midland District, in Kingston, French was taught for two consecutive years, in 1830 and 1831. It is probable that there were other grammar schools also which retained that study in their curricula for two years or more, but we lack data concerning these schools. In the majority of grammar schools, however, in which French was taught at all, it was taught only intermittently.

The Newcastle District Grammar School had four pupils in French in 1829,[2] six pupils the following year,[3] but only one in 1831.[4] The teaching of French was begun in the Kingston school a year after its introduction into the curriculum of the Cobourg School. There were in the former school in 1830 and in 1831 five and four French scholars respectively.[5]

[1]From Strachan's report to the Lieutenant-Governor. See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, pp. 265f.

[2]Appendix to the Journals, 1830, p. 199.

[3]"Educational Papers," No. 290, Public Archives of Canada.

[4]Appendix to Journals, 1832-3, p. 212.

[5]Appendix to Journals, 1831, p. 163. Reporting in 1832 the trustees give the number of French scholars for the preceding year as six. See Appendix to the Journals, 1832-3, p. 212.

Why was French dropped out of the curricula of these two schools? We are furnished with an explanation in the case of the Kingston School—the burden of the extra fees of the French master. Were the trustees of the grammar school in Cobourg confronted with the same difficulty? Or was it general indifference to this new study? In Kingston, at any rate, we are assured, the difficulty was purely a financial one. The trustees were dubious from the first about the feasibility of maintaining a French teacher in the school. In their report in 1831 they express doubt "whether there will be sufficient encouragement held out for him to remain." The next year they report that:

> ". . . from want of general encouragement to the French master, though very deserving of support, and the absence of any public means of remunerating him, the trustees regret to say, that his services could not be retained.
>
> The very large fees willingly paid by the parents of the boys whom he attended show that there is a desire for this branch of knowledge, and that it would be generally cultivated, if by means of some public provision made towards the support of a competent teacher, it could be obtained at a moderate cost to the pupil."[1]

The "desire for this branch of knowledge" was probably more pronounced in Kingston, owing to its proximity to the lower province than in most of the other schools in Upper Canada. Undoubtedly the lack of regular teachers capable of teaching French was also a serious impediment to the introduction of this study into the grammar schools. The expedient of employing natives as part-time teachers of French was an awkward and expensive arrangement, particularly for small schools.

The returns from the Newcastle and Midland district

[1]Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for 1832-33, p. 212.

grammar schools derive additional interest from the light they throw on the content of the French courses in these schools. They supply us, for the first time, with specific data respecting the text-books used. The curriculum of the Cobourg school in 1829 with the number of pupils in the various subjects is here reproduced in its original form.[1]

TABLE 1.—TEXT-BOOKS AND THE NUMBER OF PUPILS IN EACH SUBJECT IN THE NEWCASTLE DISTRICT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1829

Latin	Greek	French	Mathematics	History and Geography	English Grammar and Arithmetic	Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic	Bookkeeping	BOOKS IN USE
4								Cicero, Horace, Virgil and Sallust, Mair's Exercises.
	3							Greek Grammar, Graecae Minora and Homer's Iliad.
		4						French Grammar, Fables and Telemachus.
			4					Euclid, Bonycastle's Algebra, and Hutton's Mathematics.
				9				Roman and English History—Goldsmith's Geography.
8								L. Rudiments, Lectiones, Selecta, Howard's Exercises.
					12			Murray's English Grammar—Walkingame's Arithmetic.
						12		Mavor's Spelling Book—Murray's English Reader.
							6	Morrison's Elements of Bookkeeping.

The 1830 report specifies the French textbooks more minutely. They were "Wanostrocht, French Grammar; Perrin's Fables and Telemachus."[2]

The returns of the Midland District School are specific

[1]Appendix to the Journals for 1830, p. 199.
[2]Educational Papers, No. 290, Public Archives of Canada.

only as regards the French authors read and say nothing about French grammar. Giving an account of the annual examination of the ten classes of the school in 1830 "in presence of the trustees and the inhabitants of the town of Kingston", the report, after enumerating the number of pupils and the subjects of examination of the first three classes, says: "The fourth class, composed of five pupils, was exercised in Telemachus and the French Testament."[1]

In 1835 five of the grammar schools whose returns are available reported negatively for French.[2] About the rest information is lacking. Three years later at least eleven of the twelve schools in operation had no French[3] and, from various considerations, it is safe to say that the twelfth likewise had none.[4]

In 1839 there were thirteen grammar schools in Upper Canada. Only two of these are definitely known to have had courses in French that year, eight of them taught no French, and there are no reports available for the remaining three.[5] The three schools from which returns are lacking were the grammar schools of the Western, London, and Midland districts. The first two, as far as can be ascertained, had never had French in their programmes and the last had discontinued the subject in 1832. It is reasonably certain, then, that in 1839 only two of the grammar schools taught French. These were the Johnstown Grammar School (in Brockville) and the

[1]Educational Papers, No. 288.

[2]Educational Papers, Nos. 491 and 492, and appendix to the Journals for 1836, No. 39.

[3]Appendix to the Journals.

[4]There are no returns for the Prince Edward District School (Picton) for 1838. This school taught no French in 1839 nor as late as 1849. See Appendix to the Journals for 1839-40, p. 413 and "Sundries," No. 446.

[5]Appendix to the Journals for 1839-40, pp. 401ff.

Newcastle Grammar School (in Cobourg).[1] In the former French was taught in the first (highest) class, consisting of eight pupils. The programme, in addition to French, comprised also Greek, Latin, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, geography, composition, and arithmetic. In the latter school instruction in French was given to a class which was also learning bookkeeping.

The history of the grammar schools was an uneventful one during the first half of the century. For fifty years they were but little molested by legislative enactments. The Act that brought them into existence in 1807 remained substantially unaltered throughout the period. We have already noted the provisions of the Act of 1819 which required the trustees to hold annual public examinations of their schools and report the results to the Lieutenant-Governor, and we have noted also the functions of the General Board of Education between 1823 and 1833. The internal life of the schools was, however, but little affected by these changes.

In 1839 the functions that had been exercised by the General Board were, with somewhat enlarged powers, transferred to the Council of King's College. (King's College was the original name of the University of Toronto.) The Council was authorized to prescribe "rules, regulations, and bye-laws for the conduct and good government"[2] of the schools. This the Council did, and in 1841 it issued along with a set of regulations a detailed course of study for the grammar schools. The course was designed to follow that of Upper Canada College.[3] Each school was to be composed of six forms (besides a preparatory form) and "partial forms" for

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 408 and 411.
[2] See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 171.
[3] See Chapter IV.

those not taking Latin or Greek. The prescription for each form was set forth minutely. The range of subjects was wide. It included, besides the classics and higher mathematics, arithmetic, English, history, geography, use of the globes, bookkeeping, elocution, and the Bible; and for the partial form, in addition to the above subjects—but omitting the classics—also the "elements of natural philosophy".

French was not included in the courses prescribed. The omission of French is the more surprising as Archdeacon Strachan, who had always favoured the study of French in the secondary schools, was the president of the Council. Why did Strachan consent to have French omitted from the grammar school programme? He had sponsored it in programmes he had drawn up before. The explanation is not hard to find. Strachan and his Council were bent on prescribing a curriculum that was workable for the whole province and the lack of teachers of French made it impracticable to prescribe that study. To prescribe it would have only tended to diminish respect for the curriculum as a whole.

It is hard to say what effect the absence of French on the programme had in discouraging this subject in the grammar schools, since the programme was really never enforced. In response to a widespread dissatisfaction with the denominational complexion of the Council that body was deprived of the power of making regulations for the grammar schools in the same year in which it issued its first curriculum and first set of rules for the government of these schools, in 1841.

For want of data the fortunes of French as a grammar school study in Upper Canada cannot be followed in detail for the next decade. The few accessible reports prior to 1848 are, with three exceptions, negative as

regards French. There was no French in the curricula of the grammar schools of the Ottawa District (Longueil) in 1845, 1846, and 1847,[1] the Colborne District (Peterboro) from 1845 to 1848,[2] and the Simcoe District (Barrie) in 1845.[3]

The three known exceptions to the negative reports on French before 1848—presumably there were more exceptions about which we possess no data—do not attest any ardour for the study of French in the grammar schools of Upper Canada in the fourth decade of the century. The story is soon told. There was a lone French scholar (a boy named David Williamson) in the Gore District Grammar School in Hamilton in 1845 pursuing a course in Lévizac's *French Grammar* and Voltaire's *Charles XII*.[4] Another boy in a grammar school fifty miles west of Hamilton, in Woodstock, was just as solitary as he in the French class, the next year; the Brock district Grammar School, situated in Woodstock, had in 1846 but one pupil studying French.[5] The third grammar school known to have had French in its programme in the forties was the St. Catharines Grammar School.[6] In 1847 that school had a French class of unstated numbers.

Ryerson's unofficial statistical tabulations of the studies pursued in the private and grammar schools of the province in 1847, 1848, and 1849[7] are not very helpful in forming an estimate of the extent to which French was

[1]S., No. 12,234, Public Archives of Canada. The letter S on these documents in the Archives is used to designate a collection of documents grouped together under the general heading of "Sundries".

[2]S., No. 938.

[3]S., No. 11,434.

[4]S., No. 12,386.

[5]S., No. 12,457.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]See Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education for these years.

studied in the grammar schools. In the first place, the information about the subjects of study is not given separately for the grammar schools but jointly with the private schools, and consequently we have no means of telling whether the information furnished applies to the one or the other class of schools or to both. Secondly, the returns from these schools were voluntary and unofficial, since the superintendent of education had no jurisdiction over them, and hence are apt to be inaccurate. Lastly, there is no individual tabulation of the several studies; all the subjects are divided into three (1847) or four (1848) groups headed "higher branches", "classics", "English branches", and "French, music, drawing, etc." It follows that we cannot tell, from the data supplied by the statistical tables, which of the schools reporting "classics", for example, taught only Latin and which taught both Latin and Greek, or whether schools reporting "French, music, drawing, etc.," taught French at all. There was no separate heading provided in the printed form for that subject. Hence we are likely to find schools where no French was taught filling in the blank under either "French, etc.," (1847) or "French, music, drawing, etc." (1848), to indicate that some pupils were taking subjects not elsewhere listed. The information thus is indefinite and misleading, and the conclusions of the Superintendent, it is to be feared, are erroneous when he says in his summary that "French, drawing, and music" were taught in 53 grammar and private schools in 1847.[1]

There were reported to be in operation that year 38 grammar schools and academies[2] and 96 private schools. The number of these schools teaching "French, music,

[1]Annual Report for 1847, p. 17.

[2]See footnote on pages 78 and 79.

and drawing" is given for the next two years as 40 and 30 respectively. The sudden drop in these studies, as reported, is the more amazing when it is remembered that these schools had increased from 134 in 1847 to 196 in 1849. The statistical data thus represent an abrupt falling off, in the space of three years, in the number of schools teaching these subjects from 40% to 15% of the total. This is unthinkable, and we are compelled to dismiss as vague and misleading the statistical information furnished in reference to the study of French in the grammar and private schools in 1847 and 1848. Ryerson concedes the defective nature of the reports, and grants that "the returns under the heads of colleges and grammar schools are too vague to serve any practical purpose; the same may be said of the returns of private schools."[1]

The writer was able to examine seventeen of the original grammar school returns for 1848.[2] They represent returns from more than half of the grammar schools in operation that year.[3] All but three of the seventeen grammar schools report negatively in respect to French. The three schools in which French was taught were the grammar schools of the Ottawa (Longueil), Bathurst (Perth), and Wellington (Guelph) districts. The returns furnish us with no details about the French courses in these schools.

[1]Annual Report for 1849, p. 10.

[2]Public Archives of Canada. S., Nos. 402, 403, 417, 446, 457, 470, 490, 491, 505, 556, 574, 581, 649, 740, 827, 938, and 988.

These returns were made in response to a circular asking for information covering the period of January 1845 to December 1848. It seems, however, that the information supplied, except in the case of one school, applies only to the year just passed, 1848.

[3]The exact number of these grammar schools is not always easy to determine. In the reports of the Superintendent the grammar schools and academies are tabulated together until 1851. The appendices to the journals make it clear that there were twenty grammar schools in 1842 and twenty-four in 1844.

The relatively complete returns for 1848 make up, in a large measure, for the incomplete reports of the seven preceding years and give us a fairly good idea of the status of French in the grammar school programme of the time. Unless conditions at the schools from which returns are lacking were strikingly different from the others, we are safe in assuming that the study of French in the grammar schools was still comparatively uncommon in 1848. And there is no ground for supposing that the seventeen schools in question are not representative of all the schools; they are geographically well distributed and comprise both the older and newer schools. The conclusion then would seem to be warranted that only from 15 to 20% of the schools had French in their curricula.

There were two chief reasons for the tardy spread of French as a subject of study in the grammar schools of Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the classical tradition was still firmly entrenched, and on the other hand, there was, as we have seen, a scarcity of teachers equipped to teach the French tongue. Proficiency in the classics was widely accepted as a true criterion of education, and hence the emphasis was placed on Sallust and Virgil, Cornelius Nepos and Horace. The school period was too short to be diffused over too many subjects. The newer studies were looked at askance by many persons. Neither natural philosophy nor French was as yet generally conceded an undisputed place in the secondary school curriculum. But even where a desire was manifested to learn French there were not always opportunities for its study, since but few of the regular grammar school masters were competent to teach it. The best grammar schools of Upper Canada were staffed mainly by masters who had been trained in the universities of the mother-

land. In them the study of modern languages had not taken firm root. The Committee on the Position of Modern Languages in Great Britain state that "until about 1860 the universities of England offered little opportunity or encouragement for the study of modern foreign languages,"[1] and that in Scotland, although French was taught in many grammar schools, it suffered "from the lack of university recognition." This condition continued in Scotland "until the door of the universities was partly opened to living foreign languages by the Commission of 1889."[2] The graduates of these universities who settled in Canada to follow the vocation of teaching, often in conjunction with the ministry, were not often qualified to teach French. Their forte were the traditional studies. Besides these teachers there were others who mastered neither the older nor the newer studies—those incompetents[3] that the educational investigations of the period so often cry out against.

Nor did the courses at any of the three universities of Upper Canada equip those who were graduated from them to teach French. Victoria College had no professor of modern languages before 1850,[4] although the study of French had been contemplated from the inception of the institution,[5] the University of Toronto had no modern language department until the advent of Professor James

[1] *Modern Studies*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] There is not a trace of cynicism in the memorial to the legislature of the Gore District Council of 1847 in which they frankly declare their intention to continue providing common school teachers "by securing, as heretofore, the services of those whose physical disabilities, from age, render this mode of obtaining a livelihood the only one suited to their decaying energies, or by employing such of the newly arrived emigrants . . . who will adopt this as a means of temporary support." See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. VII, p. 115.

[4] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. X, p. 84.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 117 and pp. 218f., and Vol. V, pp. 91f.

Forneri in 1853.[1] (Prior to this there had been some instruction given in German by Jacob Hirschfelder, who acted as tutor in Hebrew and German,)[2] No French was taught at Queen's College. Thus there was no stimulus given to the study of French by the universities of Upper Canada during the first decade of their existence. French was neither a prerequisite of admission nor did it form part of their curricula until after the middle of the century.

During the first half of the century French had not yet attained the position of a standard grammar school subject. The classical monopoly held sway in the schools. The best schools persisted in following the model of the English Public Schools and their traditional curriculum.

Indications were nevertheless discernible of an interest in the subject, especially after the first third of the century. Enough has been said of Strachan's attitude towards the study of French. Egerton Ryerson recognized its worth as a school study early in his educational career. (See p. 83.) Dr. Duncombe, in his report on education in Upper Canada in 1836, cried out against the prevailing tyranny of the classics and contended that "Modern Literature . . . should be counted the great field of literary enterprise and study."[3] The Parliamentary Commission on Education in 1839 recommended French for the grammar school curriculum, though only as an optional subject.[4] William Craigie, secretary of the Ancaster Literary Institution, and a man whose views

[1]In this year the University was made solely an examining body, the work of instruction being delegated to a new college, known as University College.

[2]*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 128 and p. 131. Hirschfelder obtained his appointment only after making repeated applications to the Council of King's College.

[3]*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 295.

[4]*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 262.

on education were prized highly likewise favoured the study of French in the district schools.[1]

This interest in French found expression, as will be seen later, in the not uncommon study of the language in the academies of the period. It was manifested also, as we have seen, in intermittent attempts by isolated grammar schools to introduce the subject into their programmes. The attempts were sporadic. French teachers were not easy to secure, and the added financial obligation was not negligible. The schools were hampered both by a lack of funds and the want of a uniform prescription of work. Both these defects Ryerson strove to remedy in the memorable Act of 1853, of which an account will be given in a subsequent chapter. Before resuming the thread of our story, however, we must review the early history of the teaching of French in a school that exerted an unequalled influence on the course of secondary education during the period under review and subsequently, namely, Upper Canada College. This will be the burden of the next chapter.

Chapter IV

French in the Early Days of Upper Canada College

Of the earliest founded secondary schools in Ontario that are still in existence Upper Canada College is the only one that has taught French without interruption from the date of its establishment to the present time; it was the first school to engage a permanent native French teacher; as well as the first one to employ a full-time master devoting himself exclusively to the teaching of French. The example of this institution

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

indubitably had much to do with eventually raising French to the position of a standard grammar school study, for it must be remembered that Upper Canada College occupied a unique position; it served as the model that the grammar schools, whether consciously or unconsciously, endeavoured to imitate. Hence its influence on the curriculum of the grammar schools in the province was far reaching.

Upper Canada College was founded at a time when a sharp contest was in progress between those who were pressing the claims of a provincial university for the education of the select few and those who were championing the cause of the elementary schools for the mass of the people. The contending parties were the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The establishment of Upper Canada College was of the nature of a compromise between the two opposing claims. It was realized that the province was not ripe for a college of university rank and that present needs could be adequately satisfied by a "minor" college, which would pave the way for a seminary of higher learning by preparing students for it. The founding in 1829 of Upper Canada College or "Minor College", as it was also called, was the result. It was, in effect, a superior grammar school. Its immediate founder was Sir John Colborne, who became the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1829.

In accordance with the original scheme of the founder of the institution, French was to be an integral component of the curriculum, though avowedly of a lower order than the time-honoured studies, Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Writing in 1829 to the vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford to ask for his assistance in securing a principal and masters for the proposed in-

stitution, Sir John Colborne informs him that the staff "will consist of four classical masters, a mathematical master, two French masters",[1] and so on. It is manifest that the French department was not intended to be on a parity with the classical and mathematical departments. On the latter, in the main, would depend the success of the entire venture. Hence the classical and mathematical masters must be selected without delay as well as with the greatest circumspection. The principal "must have taken a first class degree in classics and mathematics."[2] The classical bias is pronounced. Upper Canada College was intended by its founder to follow, in the main, the classical traditions of its prototypes, the Public Schools of England. In introducing French as part of the regular curriculum the college was, however, in advance of most of these schools, for French was taught, at the time, in but few of the great English Public Schools.

From an announcement appearing in the *Upper Canada Gazette* of December 17, 1829,[3] just prior to the opening of the school, we learn that the first French master was "Mr. J. P. de la Haye, for some time employed at the College of Louis le Grand, at Paris and at Vincennes, a native of France, and an experienced instructor."[4]

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, page 286. The original project was later modified and only two classical masters and one French master were engaged.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[3] Quoted by Hodgins, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 290.

[4] The following biographical note appeared at the time of his death in the *Journal of Education* of December, 1872, Vol. XXV, No. 12:

"The late Mr. De la Haye was well known to many in years gone by. His name has been a household word in the families of men who, when boys, attended Upper Canada College. A brief record, therefore, of his past life will no doubt be read with interest:—A native of France, he was born in Bretagne, May, 1799, and was, therefore, when he died, in the 74th year of his age. He took his degree at the College of St. Malo, after which he resided for several years in England, as a teacher of French. When Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton) founded a college in Toronto, for the higher education of the youth of the country, Mr. De la Haye was appointed French master. Monsieur

The following table giving the amount of time and the number of periods per week allotted to the several subjects of study at Upper Canada College shows, in a measure, the place accorded to French in relation to the other studies. The tabulation is reproduced from an original document[1] prepared by Dr. Harris, principal of the College, and submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor. The document is not dated but from the fact that it is found among other papers of 1831 and from considerations of internal evidence[2] it is quite obvious that it belongs to that year, the second year after the opening of the college. It sets forth in tabular form the "Plan of Studies" of the institution.

and Madame De la Haye (to whom he was married before venturing to seek a new home across the ocean) arrived here (then 'little York') in the fall of 1829, and in January, 1830, Upper Canada College was inaugurated, Dr. J. H. Harris being Principal. In 1844 M. De la Haye revisited France, and passed a few happy months among the friends of his youth and the scenes of his boyhood, and up to 1856 he continued to fill the position which he had thus occupied for more than a quarter of a century. Having served the college so long and so faithfully, the authorities recognized his merits by granting him a pension; and, always attached to a country life and rural pursuits, he then settled on the large and attractive property, in the Gore of Toronto, which he had acquired many years previously, in view of the cherished wish and hope to spend the rest of his days, in peace and quiet, 'on his own ground'. In 1859 the beloved partner of his life, who had done so much to make his home happy and his condition prosperous, was taken away; and, though he felt this great loss, his country habits, his fields and his crops, continued to be a pleasure and a comfort until prostrated by the malady which has proved mortal, it became necessary to remove him into town. In the class-room Mr. De la Haye was popular with all; of the many hundred College boys who passed through the French department in his time, we feel sure that no one retains in after days other than a feeling of, it may be said, filial regard toward him; while those who lived under his roof, and shared the domestic fireside, will always remember Madame De la Haye's kindly care and attention with the greatest affection; and in proof of Monsieur De la Haye's place in their esteem, a handsome and valuable testimonial was presented to him, soon after leaving the college, by his old pupils."

[1] "Educational Papers", No. 349, Public Archives of Canada.

[2] See the principal's report to the General Board of Education, quoted in Dickson and Mercer's *History of Upper Canada College*, pp. 55f.

Table 2.—Plan of Studies of Upper Canada College, 1831

"General View of the Occupation of each Form, through One Week.

Attendance of	In Classics		In Mathematics		In French		In Writing, Arith., etc.	
	Times	Hours	Times	Hours	Times	Hours	Times	Hours
6th Form	10	16½	5	8½	2	3	..	..
5th Form	11	17	3	5	3	6	..	..
4th Form	9	15½	3	5	3	4½	2	3
3rd Form	10	17	..	...	3	5	4	6
2nd Form	12	18	..	..	1	2	4	8
1st Form	11	19	..	..	..	..	5	7½

making a total of 28 hours per week for every form, except the first."

It is seen that French was begun in the second form, with one lesson a week of two hours' duration. In the third form French was taught three times a week and was allotted a total of five hours. In the fourth form, four and a half hours were given to French, divided into three lessons. In the fifth and sixth forms French received six and three hours, three times and twice a week respectively.

A comparison between the "times" and "hours" given to classics and French respectively shows the overwhelming preponderance of Greek and Latin in the programme. The tabulated analysis, moreover, tells only part of the story. Not only was more school time to be given to the classics than to all other studies combined but almost all of this time was to be "spent in actual rehearsal with the master" and could not be used by the students for the preparation of their lessons. "It is intended that no classical lessons (except once or at the utmost twice in the course of the week . . .) shall be prepared in the school hours." This time had to be spent in recitation. Lessons in the non-classical subjects, on the other hand, had to be prepared in class. "None of

the masters, except the classical, are to require lessons to be prepared out of school hours."[1]

The classical predominance appeared not only in the greater share of time allotted to the traditional studies, but also in the higher prestige enjoyed by the classical masters as compared with the teachers of what were regarded as less significant subjects, such as French and art. The lower status of the French and art masters is strangely exemplified in the denial of seats on the platform of the assembly room to M. de la Haye and Mr. Drewry, the teachers of French and drawing. This discrimination was resented by them, and in the following memorial, dated January 31, 1831, they appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor for the removal of the disability:

> We, J. de la Haye and Thos. Drewry, humbly beg your Excellency to take into consideration our case, of which the annexed is a statement:
>
> The public room at the U.C. College, having been fitted up for the purpose of public meetings and examinations of the pupils, seats adjoining those of the Principal and Vice-Principal have been erected for the three[2] first classical masters, excluding us from that privilege. We therefore respectfully submit to your Excellency whether it be your Excellency's pleasure or not, that we should (as masters attached to the establishment) be entitled to have seats exactly similar to those of the other classical masters (equally under the control of the Principal as ourselves) with that distinction only of their taking the precedence. Hoping you will examine into the merits of our request, we respectfully await your Excellency's decision.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] Since there were only *two* classical masters on the staff, it is evident that the classical masters and the mathematical master are meant.

[3] S., No. 314, Public Archives of Canada.

In the proceedings of King's College Council of September 30, 1844, the following minute occurs: "Moved by Doctor McCaul, seconded by Doctor Beaven, that the First Classical master in Upper Canada College shall have and hold precedence and rank next after the Principal. Carried."

There were others, too, that were disgruntled with the classical overlordship at Upper Canada College. Six months after the date of the memorial just quoted another memorial was presented to Sir John Colborne. It was submitted by Robert Baldwin and a number of other prominent men in York, who complained of the too rigidly classical programme of the students and prayed for a course "in such branches of an English education, as will qualify them for discharging . . . the scientific and other business of tradesmen and mechanics."[1] In his reply the Lieutenant-Governor defended the course as constituting a suitable preparation for the professions and as being calculated to make the graduate of the college "a classical scholar, a good mathematician, with a critical knowledge of two modern languages (manifestly referring to English and French), while at the same time he will find that his commercial education has not been neglected." There is, nevertheless, a hint about certain contemplated "partial changes in the college course . . . with reference to pupils intended for a scientific or commercial employment."[2] This foreshadowed the non-classical "partial form" that was inaugurated a few years later, for students intending to engage in commercial or scientific pursuits.

The concentrated classical diet of the college bill of fare was not the only thing that called forth criticism. There were those who doubted the propriety of employing full time teachers of French and art with fixed salaries. Were not these subjects only polite accomplishments, and should not the teachers, in consequence, be made dependent for their remuneration on the pupils taking these extra subjects?

[1] *Doc. Hist.* Vol. II, p. 29.
[2] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 30.

In the thirties a series of reports on education was made by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly. The appendix to the second of these reports, presented in 1832, and consisting of an account of the examination of a number of prominent persons about the state of Upper Canada College, throws some light on the attitude of the committee towards what was regarded as the anomalous practice of making French and art integral parts of the school course, rather than extra subjects for those who desired them. The legitimacy of French and drawing as regular parts of the curriculum is apparently called in question. It was not customary in schools of the type of Upper Canada College to pay salaries to teachers of these subjects irrespective of the number of scholars taught by them. In the great English Public Schools, it appears, if such teachers were employed, they were remunerated chiefly by the pupils whom they taught. But Upper Canada College had a full-time French master who did not receive his fees directly from his pupils. This was a radical departure from the prevailing practice and was apparently frowned on by the committee. In the examination of the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and a member of the General Board of Education, as well as of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the province, the following question was asked:

> "Is it usual to place French and drawing masters on the foundation of large schools and allow them salaries without any regard to the number of their pupils?"

His reply was as follows:

> "I believe it is not the usual course; but I am not particularly informed on this point. It was thought that instruction in French and in the rudiments of drawing would be a very important addition to the ordinary course of education, and that, if these could be made parts of the general system

> of instruction and be taught to all, without exception, a great general good would be attained. Whereas, if they were made to entail an additional charge for tuition, some parents might be unable to avail themselves of the advantage, and others who were able might, from a too rigid economy, dispense with it. For the sake of the youth of the province, therefore, these branches were placed upon the footing on which they now are. I doubt whether it has answered well, and I am sensible that the plan is subject to objections, but I thought it expedient at the time, and fully concurred in it.[1]"

That the Committee considered instruction in French as an unwarranted advantage given to the pupils of Upper Canada College over the pupils in the grammar schools is evident from the next question: "Are the inhabitants of York less able to pay for the instruction of their children in these branches (French and drawing) than the people of the other districts?"[2]

Dr. Strachan, in testifying, said:

> According to my experience and information, French and drawing masters are attached to seminaries, but not placed with salaries on the foundation. They are paid only by those who employ them. To this general practice there may be exceptions, but I consider it the most judicious, and it seems to work well.[3]

The employment of a French master was defended in the testimony of the registrar of King's College on the ground that this inducement was necessary to attract "persons duly qualified to come to this province and take the positions."[4]

From returns furnished by the principal of the college

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
The salary of M. de la Haye, at the time of the inquiry, was £200 sterling per annum, that of the classical and mathematical masters, £300 sterling each. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

to the Lieutenant-Governor in 1835[1] we gather that there was no French in the curriculum of the Preparatory School that had been added to the institution. The returns also show that for the benefit of those desiring a practical rather than a classical education there had been a modification in the course which permitted the classical studies to be dropped after the third form. The pupils not pursuing the classics constituted the "partial class".[2] This "partial class" received instruction in French.[3] In the regular course French was taught, as before, in all the forms except the first.

For many years after its foundation Upper Canada College was constantly under scrutiny and was frequently hard pressed by its critics. The attacks were provoked chiefly by its preponderantly classical curriculum and because of the alleged restriction of its advantages to the inhabitants of York. Much of the antagonism to the institution was, no doubt, also traceable to a feeling of jealousy of the benefits bestowed upon it that were not granted to the other secondary schools in the province.

The repeated broadsides directed against the college called forth, in 1836, an elaborate and spirited defence of the institution by its principal, the Rev. Dr. Harris. Combating the charges of undue prominence given to the classics, he points out that continued modifications in the course have retrenched "the time devoted to the classics, till, at present, this latter branch occupies less than half of the time spent at the college by pupils of any standing."[4] The course of instruction, he contends, "is very far from being merely classical", since it comprises "besides the classics, progressive instruction in writing,

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. II, pp. 171ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 319.
[4] Quoted by Hodgins, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 315ff.

arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, history, English composition, French, mathematics, principles of land surveying, and the elements of natural philosophy." He adds, furthermore, that students are at liberty to omit the classics entirely after the third form and take only the non-classical studies of the "partial class". The curriculum for 1836 is outlined, which shows that French, as before, is taught in all the seven forms except the lowest (and the preparatory school) and that it is also taught in the "partial class".

No record is available of the French text-books used in Upper Canada College between 1830 and 1838. We have, however, a complete list of the French books that were in use in the latter year. Most of these had probably also been used before then. A list of these books[1] is given in the appendix to the report of a Commission on Education in Upper Canada appointed in 1839 and is reproduced in table 3. As in previous years, French is taught in all the forms except the first form and the preparatory school.

Table 3.—French Books Used in Upper Canada College in 1838

Second Form: Lévizac's *French Grammar*; Wanostrocht's (*French Grammar*).
Third Form: Perrin's *French Dialogues; Telemachus* (*Télémaque*).
Partial Class: French books—the same as those used in the forms.
Fourth Form: *Traité de la Conjugaison Française;* Beauté's *Histoire de France* (*sic*).
Fifth Form: *Traité des Participes; Histoire de Louis XIV and XV.*
Sixth Form: (The French Books are not given).
Seventh Form: *Henriade;* Selections from Boileau.

Such was the French programme of the College in 1838. Upper Canada College was, as regards French, a sort of oasis in the desert of the Frenchless grammar schools of that year.[2] French continued to be taught at the college without a break; it was never dropped from the curriculum.

[1]Quoted by Hodgins, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 258. See also appendix to the Journals for 1839-40, Vol. II, pp. 338ff.

[2]See page 54, *ante*.

Before returning to our discussion of the study of French in the government-aided secondary schools of Ontario a few words must be said about that study, prior to the middle of the century, in the other educational institutions: the colleges, the academies, the private schools, and the common schools.

Only two colleges of secondary school rank were founded during the first half of the century. The first of these, Upper Canada College, has already been dealt with. The other, Upper Canada Academy (afterwards Victoria College), was opened in Cobourg in 1836. In the schedule of fees for tuition in the various branches, adopted before the opening of the school, the following item occurs: "French and other modern languages, per term . . . £1 10*s*. 0*d*." [1] The following year it was reported to the House of Assembly regarding this school that "In the Female Department, which is perfectly distinct in the building, instruction will be given in all the constituent parts of a superior English education, and in French, music, drawing, and embroidery." [2] The original curriculum of the Upper Canada Academy was probably not uninfluenced by the precedent of Upper Canada College.

The account of the studies carried on in the academies and private schools has of necessity to be brief, both because the subject does not properly come within the scope of the present inquiry and because of want of authentic records. Much of the story of the early private schools is held tightly in the grip of the past and cannot be wrested from it. Only the scrappiest information has come down to us. It is difficult to piece together

[1] Anson Green, *Life and Times*, quoted by Hodgins, *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. II p. 273.

[2] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

the story of these schools. They were not responsible to any government authorities and were not required to furnish them with any returns. They had an ephemeral existence. Their span of life was often no longer than the master's (or mistress's) teaching career in the locality.

Though not properly forming part of the present study, the academies and private schools are nevertheless not wholly foreign to the main subject under discussion, since there must have been a reciprocal relation between them and the government-aided grammar schools. It appears that the neglect of French in the latter was often, in a measure, made up for by the academies and proprietary schools of the day.[1] Some of these probably made a specialty of teaching French, others taught it as an extra subject and charged a special fee for it. It was taught more often in girls' schools than in boys'.[2] As a polite accomplishment French was considered of no less moment than music, drawing, or embroidery. These schools doubtless helped to pave the way for the more general recognition of French as a school subject in the fifties.

One of the earliest academies in Upper Canada in which French is known to have been taught was Mr. Latham's English and French Academy, first opened in Kingston some time before 1827 (or early in the same year) and reopened that year. Hodgins quotes the follow-

[1]The distinction between the academy and the private school is not always clear cut. Generally speaking the academy was a legally incorporated, semi-publicly controlled institution, deriving its income from fees, occasionally supplemented by government grants. These grants were neither regular nor munificent. Some of the academies were eventually merged in the general school system. The private schools, as their name implies, were proprietary schools, conducted by individuals and depended for their maintenance wholly on fees.

[2]In the girls' schools the teachers' range of subjects, besides the ordinary studies, frequently comprised "French, ornamental needlework, music and drawing."

ing advertisement, dated October 6, 1817, from the *Kingston Gazette*[1]

> "Henry Latham, late a clerk in the naval yard, begs leave to inform his friends and the public that from the encouragement he has received from several of the principal inhabitants of the east ward of Kingston he has been induced to reopen the academy at Mr. Baker's stone house in Store street; for the instruction of youth of both sexes in the following useful branches of education, viz.: reading, writing, English grammar and a knowledge of the French language.
>
> In soliciting a share of public patronage he hopes by assiduity and attention not only to the instruction, but to the morals of the pupils entrusted to his charge, to merit a continuance of it."

That French was comprised in the curriculum of a school opened by Mrs. Hart in Kingston in 1822 is clear from the following notice of opening which appeared at the time:

> "Mrs. Hart's Young Ladies' Seminary (late Miss Beckwith) will commence on Thursday, the 22nd of August, 1822. Pupils will be instructed in the English and French languages grammatically, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, history, elements of astronomy and geography with formation of maps, drawing and needlework. Tuition £25 per annum. (French and drawing each 10 shillings extra per quarter.) Day scholars 15 to 20 shillings per quarter.[2]

French was taught in 1835 in the senior department of the Grantham Academy in St. Catharines. "The senior department, under the superintendence of Mr. Cockell, includes the Greek, Latin, French, and English languages, mathematics, history, geography, writing and arithmetic."[3]

[1]*Doc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 130.

[2]Hodgins, *Schools and Colleges*, Vol. I, p. 61.

[3]This information is found in a letter (in the Ontario Bureau of Archives) dated St. Catharines, March 31, 1835, and written by the Rev. James Clarke to Mr. Hamilton Merritt, K.C., to solicit government aid for the academy. On the reverse side of the letter appears a statement (from which the above is quoted) by the headmaster, Mr. Cockell, respecting the programme of the school.

French was an important item in the programme of Miss Mary Proudfoot's private school, opened in the village (now city) of London on August 18, 1835. The original account book kept by the teacher has been preserved (now in possession of the University of Western Ontario) and is of more than usual interest because of the light it throws on the content of the French course in her school. There are records in the book not only of the fees owing and paid by the pupils but also of the books and other school materials supplied to them. The following entries are repeated many times throughout the account book, "To 1 Copy Télémaque, 6/9" and "To 1 Copy Lévizac's Grammar, 5/0". In one or two places the "Phrase Book" or "French Phrase Book" is mentioned. The curriculum of the school included besides French the English branches, drawing, and music. The school was attended by both boys and girls, though the latter predominated.

Although the common schools sometimes gave instruction in subjects proper to the grammar school curriculum, such as Latin, algebra and geometry, it appears that French was practically never taught by them. The writer has examined numerous returns, both published and unpublished, from boards of education of the district common schools, dealing with hundreds of individual elementary schools prior to 1850. French is given as a subject of study in only one of them! And in that school only one lone scholar is reported as pursuing the study! The case is unique and deserves recording. It is referred to in the "Quarterly Report of a District Common School established in the Village of London, in the London District, in the public square of the Village of London aforesaid, from the 1st July to 30th September,

1834, under the direction of George Boyce, a British subject." [1] The French scholar was named Sarah Harris. The text-book used was Lévizac's French grammar.[2] In 1850 there were 13 pupils learning French in the common schools of the township of Etobicoke.[3]

The following is a list, arranged chronologically, of some schools, other than grammar schools, in which French was taught during the period closing about the middle of the century, with the year in which it is known to have been taught:

TABLE 4.—SOME SCHOOLS OTHER THAN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN WHICH FRENCH WAS TAUGHT, 1817-1852.

Name of the School or the Teacher	Location	Date
Mr. Latham's English and French Academy	Kingston	1817
Mrs. Hart's young Ladies' Seminary	Kingston	1822
Upper Canada College;	York	1830
Common School	London	1834
Grantham Academy	St. Catharines	1835
Miss Mary Proudfoot	London	1835
Upper Canada Academy	Cobourg	1836
Rev. Geddes[4]	Hamilton	1843
Miss White's Select School[5]	Simcoe	1841
Miss Macnally's School[6]	Toronto	1845
Niagara Classical School[7]	Niagara	1847
Misses Burgess[7]	Niagara	1847
Two schools—teachers' names not given[7]	St. Catharines	1847
Mrs. Latshaw[7]	Township of Stamford	1847
Select School[8]	Township of Dunn	1848
Mr. Davis[8]	Drummondsville	1848
Mrs. Shorter[8]	Chippawa	1848
Mr. Hall[8]	Chippawa	1848
Monsieur and Madame Deslandes' Academy[9]	Toronto	1849
Common School	Township of Etobicoke	1850
Toronto Academy[10]	Toronto	1852

[1] "Educational Papers", No. 466.

[2] When Miss Proudfoot opened her school in London in 1835, Sarah Harris with four sisters and a brother, were among the first pupils to be enrolled. The purchase of "1 Copy Télémaque" is recorded, but there is no mention of Lévizac's Grammar. This book Sarah had evidently acquired while at Boyce's school.

[3] *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, 1850, Vol. III, p. 77.

Unfortunately much significance cannot be attached to Ryerson's summary,

Chapter V

The French Invasion (1854-1865)

An event of momentous import to the schools of Upper Canada took place in 1844, when Egerton Ryerson was appointed superintendent of education. The event proved epochal. It marked a turning point in the history of education in the province.

Ryerson's appointment did not, however, effect any immediate change in the fortunes of the grammar schools, since his authority was, at first, confined to the common schools. Each of these two types of schools continued, for a time, to have a separate existence. The grammar schools remained under the control of King's College Council, while the common schools were now placed under the jurisdiction of the superintendent and the General Board of Education.[1]

Ryerson, however, early turned his attention to the grammar schools. He found fault with their exclusive character. In his annual report for 1850 he complains that, "Pupils who are learning the first elements of an English education are sent and admitted to the grammar school, because it is thought to be more respectable than

contained in the annual report for 1847, of the number of common schools in which French was taught. Ryerson's information is derived from replies to a vaguely worded heading in the blank forms that were sent out. See also p. 58 ante.

[4]*Doc. Hist.*, Vol. V, p. 282. Both French and German were taught.

[5]Quoted from the *Norfolk Observer* of 1841, in Bannister, *Early Educational History of Norfolk County*.

[6]Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, p. 33.

[7]Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1847, Vol. I, pp. 82ff.

[8]*Ibid.*, 1848, Vol. II, p. 78.

[9]*Ibid.*, 1849, Vol. II, p. 102.

[10]*Ibid.*, 1852.

[1]The General Board of Education, which was established in 1846, consisted of the superintendent of education and six members appointed by the Governor-General.

the common school." The rather high fees charged by the grammar schools made them inaccessible to the mass of the people. Yet in many cases their programmes differed but little from those of the common schools. Nor did the latter always confine themselves to elementary school work, but frequently offered instruction in subjects properly belonging to the grammar school course.

Ryerson cried out against the anomaly of two systems operating independently, paralleling and overlapping each other. Instead of being complementary, the grammar and the common schools were really encroaching upon each others' domains. The grammar schools, according to him, were not fulfilling the purpose for which they were intended, namely, as a connecting link between the common schools and the university. Ryerson conceived of a properly co-ordinated system of education as an "educational ladder" whose topmost rungs symbolized the university; the lowest and intermediate ones, the common and the grammar schools. He advocated, to quote his own words, "a system of public instruction, commencing with the common school and terminating with the university; being connected and harmonious throughout, and equally embracing all classes." The co-ordination of elementary and secondary education was a necessary condition for the achievement of this ideal.

Legislation was accordingly passed in 1853, which was designed to effect such co-ordination. The Act of that year endeavoured to articulate elementary and secondary education by uniting both in one system. The grammar schools were now brought, jointly with the common schools, under the control of a Council of Public Instruction headed by the superintendent of education.[1]

[1]By the Act of 1850 the General Board of Education passed out of existence and was superseded by the Council of Public Instruction.

The law of 1853 sought to stimulate greater local interest in the grammar schools as well as to exert stronger central control over them. To achieve the first object the powers and responsibilities of the local authorities were extended. The county councils were now authorized to appoint trustees for each grammar school in the county. Hitherto these had been designated by the Crown, and each board of trustees had had under its jurisdiction all the grammar schools of the county. The county councils were also given permission to levy assessments for the support of the grammar schools. The appointment of masters henceforth rested entirely with the trustees, provided the masters possessed certain qualifications which were now specified for the first time. The central control over these schools, as we have seen, was vested in the Council of Public Instruction and the superintendent of education. It was the business of the council to prescribe courses of study and text-books for the grammar schools and, through the agency of special grammar school inspectors, to exercise supervision over these schools.

Certain studies were made obligatory by the Act. It prescribed that instruction be given "in all the higher branches of a practical English and commercial education, including the elements of natural philosophy and mechanics, and also in the Latin and Greek languages and mathematics so far as to prepare students for University College or any college affiliated to the University of Toronto." Modern languages were not specified by the Act. This omission was, however, supplied in the programme of studies issued by the Council of Public Instruction in 1854, to become effective the following year.

In the programme of studies of 1854 we have the first

instance of an official prescription of French for the grammar schools. One proviso in the prescribed course, however, militated considerably against the general study of this language in the schools, namely, the clause which exempted pupils who were preparing for the university from taking any subjects in the programme of studies not required for matriculation. Since French was not for some years a prerequisite for entrance into the university, it is not surprising that many students did not take advantage of the new opportunities for the study of French in the grammar schools and continued to devote themselves to those subjects only that were demanded for matriculation.

Nevertheless the effect of the new programme of studies was pronounced. There was a rapid and continuous influx of French pupils. In 1854 their number was negligible. Five years later—four years after the enforcement of the new regulations—they constituted an important portion of the entire grammar school attendance. French came into the schools with a momentum that was unprecedented. There was a French invasion in miniature.

The study of French in the grammar schools was at last coming into its own. There were several causes for the more general recognition of French, as shown by its acceptance by the Council of Public Instruction, as a standard secondary school study and by the rapid influx of pupils into the French course. Some of these causes have already been referred to in a preceding chapter. Others will now be discussed.

As we have seen, eminent men in the province had at various times recommended the study of French. Its importance was recognized by Dr. Strachan, Sir John Colborne, William Craigie, the members of the Parliamentary Commission of 1839, and Egerton Ryerson.

Egerton Ryerson was alive not only to the general educational value of French but to its special practical significance to Canadians. He had put French in the curriculum of the Upper Canada Academy in 1836.[1] He had outlined a course of study in French for Victoria College when it was first opened in 1842 and was keenly chagrined when a shortage of funds forbade the engagement of a modern language master.[2]

Complaining of the lack of such a master in 1843, he says: "This deficiency is a great disadvantage to the institution, and a serious loss to many of the pupils who are desirous of studying—especially the French language —and the study of which (independently of its being regarded as a valuable literary accomplishment) is, I think, very important to all Canadian youths who are likely to take a part in the public affairs of United Canada." [3] When the college was removed to Toronto in 1850 Ryerson expressed his satisfaction with the change of location in view of "all the facilities that Toronto could afford, in respect to special teachers in vocal music, drawing, modern languages, etc." [4]

That the desire to acquire a knowledge of the French language was not uncommon in the early forties in Upper Canada is evidenced by the publication, in 1843, of a Canadian edition of Lévizac's French Grammar, evidently the first French grammar to be printed in Ontario.[5] There was, apparently, a growing realization on the part of many people in the province that a knowledge of

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 273. See also *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 218 f.

[3] In a report to the Governor, quoted in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. V, pp. 91 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 154.

[5] As far as can be ascertained the first original foreign modern language textbook to be published in Ontario was a German manual, *A Key to German Conversation*, by Jacob Hirschfelder, Toronto, 1845.

French was desirable as a means of freer intercourse with the large French population of the neighbouring province, especially for commercial purposes. This is alluded to in the introduction to the Canadian reprint of the grammar, "In Canada it (French) is more especially necessary to the man of business, who is daily brought in contact with a large population whose language is French."

In introducing the study of French the Council of Public Instruction did not really introduce an absolutely new subject into the schools of Upper Canada. French had never been entirely extraneous to the grammar school programme. Though it had not, as we have seen, for various reasons, gained a firm foothold in the schools, its study had been pursued with varying fortunes for at least four decades. Furthermore there was the example of the colleges. Both Upper Canada College and Upper Canada Academy (afterwards Victoria College) planned for French courses from their very inception. The study of the language, as was noted in the preceding chapter, was also fostered in many of the academies and private schools of the period. Moreover, French had found its way into the curricula of both Victoria College and University College before 1854. In the former a professor of modern languages was appointed in 1850,[1] and in the latter in 1853. This raised materially the prestige of the subject. The introduction of French into the university curriculum inevitably led to an entrance examination in the language, and stimulated its study in secondary schools.

Ontario has always shown marked susceptibility to foreign educational influences. The early period, as we have seen, was characterized by adherence to the educational precedents of the mother country; after the

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. X, p. 84.

middle of the century American and continental influences were strongly in evidence. Ryerson's extensive educational tour, prior to assuming his duties as superintendent of education, was the immediate cause of these marked continental and American influences. He was bent on introducing into the schools of the province the best ingredients culled from all educational systems, whether in Europe or in the United States. The latter probably furnished more examples for imitation than other countries, due to the similarity of economic and social conditions in Upper Canada and the American states. In any event, those entrusted with the direction of education in the province at this time looked for guidance and help wherever they could find it, and in their adoption of many educational measures they were potently influenced by practices in foreign lands. It was natural, too, that Upper Canada, with its scanty population and limited educational facilities, should be sensitive to influences from abroad. These influences were especially marked on the curriculum that was issued in 1854 and which, as has already been noted, contained the first official sanction for the study of French in the grammar schools.

What was the situation in the leading European countries and in the United States at this period as regards the study of modern languages?

In Prussia[1] French had become an optional subject in most gymnasia, or secondary schools, by the beginning of the nineteenth century. For political reasons, however, the study of the language was discontinued in 1816, but was later reintroduced. In 1831 French was made compulsory in the Prussian gymnasia from *Tertia* (*i.e.*, the

[1]See article on "Modern Languages and Literature" in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*.

fourth year of a nine-year course) on. The other German states were not long in following the example of Prussia.

In France[1] the study of modern languages made little headway in the *lycées* and *collèges* (secondary schools) before the end of the thirties. The subject was made optional in 1821, but failed to receive adequate recognition from the educational authorities, who placed small value on it as a school subject and allotted but little time to its study. In the late thirties, however, modern languages were made obligatory in the "classical" course, and a decade later also in the "modern" course. By the middle of the century, therefore, the modern languages occupied a prominent position in the secondary schools of France.

In the United States[2] the study of French in the secondary schools experienced many changes of fortune before it was permanently admitted to the curriculum. It was studied in many schools early in the nineteenth century but did not take firm root before the middle of the century. After 1850, however, the subject became general and permanent in American high schools. It was introduced into the Boston Latin School and the Boston Normal School for Female Teachers in 1852, the Cincinnati high schools in 1853, the Chicago high schools in 1856, and many other schools. Thereafter the study of French spread rapidly.

There were then many influences that tended to stimulate the study of French in the grammar schools of Upper Canada about the middle of the nineteenth century. Hence it is not surprising to find, as was previously noted, that this subject was studied in a large number of schools

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] See Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bul. No. 3, 1913.

even before the new programme of studies, in which it was prescribed, went into force. We have no definite data prior to 1854, the year just before the new regulations became effective. In that year French was studied in about 48 per cent. of the grammar schools, although the number of French pupils for the whole province was only about 225.[1] Nevertheless, it is quite evident that teachers of French had become relatively numerous and that opportunities for the study of the language in grammar schools were not uncommon.

The French course prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction shows the same general characteristics as marked the French courses suggested or followed earlier in the history of the province. According to the new programme, French was to be begun in the third year and to be taken throughout the remainder of the five-year course. In the courses suggested by Strachan, and in the course at Upper Canada College, it will be recalled, French was likewise postponed until the pupils had first acquired some grounding in the other subjects of the curriculum. There were a great many of the more elementary studies clamouring for attention in the early stages of the secondary school course, and during this period, moreover, a substantial beginning had to be made in the rudiments of Latin grammar. Consequently the study of French was deferred. The importance of laying the foundation of a good French pronunciation at an age

[1]I estimate the number at about 225. The total number of pupils studying French in 1854 is not given in the Superintendent's Report. Only the enrolment in the various branches of the subject (grammar, composition, reader, etc.) is indicated. The number in grammar is given as 204. Since in the next three years the students taking French grammar constituted from 90 to 93% of the total in the subject, we are safe in assuming that the same relationship also obtained in 1854 and that consequently the total number taking French was between 220 and 225.

when the learner's vocal organs are most impressionable was not generally recognized.

There was another characteristic shared by the earlier French programmes and the one prescribed by the Council in 1854—the strong classical bias in the choice of the authors to be read. In this, as in other respects, the pattern of the Greek and Latin courses was followed. French came into the curriculum as a sort of understudy to Latin, and it was only natural that texts and methods similar to those used in acquiring the classical language should also be used in learning the modern one. If Terence and Sallust and Ovid furnished the proper material for the one, then what could be more suitable for the other than Molière and Voltaire and Fénelon? Similarly the French grammar text-books authorized were in the main modelled after the Latin grammars, with their exhaustive treatment of each part of speech, arranged in strictly logical sequence, with their conjugations and declensions and parsings. The study of French grammar evidently held the focal place in the French course. Although written exercises were demanded, most weight seems to have been attached to the study of grammar *per se*. It was not merely a means for the acquisition of a knowledge of the language; it was also an end in itself.

The French course prescribed was, nevertheless, in several respects a fairly complete one. In addition to a thorough grounding in grammar, provision was also made for written and oral exercises and, in the highest class, the reading of two texts was prescribed. Other details of the course may be gathered from the French programme which is reproduced in table 5.

The Council also prescribed a list of text-books for the French course but granted the trustees of each school

TABLE 5.—FRENCH PROGRAMME PRESCRIBED BY THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN 1854 AND EFFECTIVE FROM 1855 to 1865[1]

Classes	French Course
First or Lowest	None
Second	None
Third	Elements of French grammar to end of irregular verbs, with exercises, oral and written translations.
Fourth	Rules on the use of the pronouns and participles, with exercises. Oral and written translations.
Fifth	Syntax and idioms. Composition, oral and written translations. Fénelon, *Dialogues des Morts.* Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin.* Previous subjects reviewed. In 1857 the prescription in authors was changed to Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII.*

fairly wide discretion in their selection of books from among those authorized. A choice of one of the following four grammars was allowed: Merlet's *French Grammar* (English edition), Arnold's *First French Book*, Noël and Chapsal's *French Grammar* (in French), and Collot's *Lévizac's French Grammar.* In addition, the use of one of four French readers was authorized, *viz.*, Merlet's *Le Traducteur*, Collot's *Pronouncing Reader*, Collot's

TABLE 6.—FRENCH TEXT-BOOKS OTHER THAN AUTHORS, PRESCRIBED BY THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, AND EFFECTIVE FROM 1855 TO 1865

Grammars	Readers	Dictionaries	Miscellaneous
Merlet's Grammar, Arnold's First Book, Noël and Chapsal's Grammar (in French), Collot's Lévizac's Grammar.	Collot's Pronouncing Reader, Collot's Interlinear Reader, Collot's Anecdotes and Questions, Merlet's Le Traducteur.	Collot's French and English Dictionary, Spier's and Surenne's French and English Dictionary, Merlet's Dictionary of Difficulties.	Collot's Dialogues and Phrases, Surenne's New Manual, Arnold's Vocabulary.

[1]See Annual Report for 1854, Appendix E, Section II, p. 154.

Interlinear Reader, and Collot's *Anecdotes and Questions*. The list of French dictionaries comprised Merlet's *Dictionary of Difficulties*, Collot's *French and English Dictionary*, and Spiers' and Surenne's *French and English Dictionary*. There were also books on French conversation and specified editions of the French authors prescribed.[1]

The following is the list of prescribed French authors as given in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, 1855. Evidently this is a modification of the original list. Options were apparently allowed:

FRENCH AUTHORS PRESCRIBED IN 1855

Fénelon, *Dialogue des Morts* (French edition).
Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*.
Fénelon, *Télémaque* (Le Brun's or Surenne's).
Voltaire, *Charles XII* (Surenne's).
Voltaire, *Alzire*.

The wide range permitted in the choice of text-books was a concession to the prevailing diversity in the school books actually used. It was Ryerson's avowed intention gradually to effect greater uniformity. However, it was thought inadvisable to insist on this from the outset for two reasons. In the first place, the diverse predilections of the teachers had to be met, and secondly, it was necessary to have regard for the inconvenience that would result from a sudden change in the comparatively expensive school books in use. For the present, therefore, all that was demanded was consistency as far as each school was concerned. Each school, for example, was ordered to use only one of the four grammars prescribed, one of the dictionaries and so on. In any event, there was as yet no trace of that inflexible and uncom-

[1]See Annual Report for 1854, p. 159.

promising uniformity that became characteristic of Ontario in later years.

It appears that in practice the diversity in the text-books used was even greater than that sanctioned by official regulations.[1] Thus, in addition to the prescribed grammars, there were a number of unauthorized French grammars widely current. Of these the most generally favoured was Ollendorff's *French Grammar*. Fasquelle's book was also studied in a number of schools. The educational authorities had no choice but to wink at this disregard of official regulations, since they were alive to the inadequacy of many of the books prescribed. Many of these had become out of date, and newer and better manuals had made their appearance[2] and had been introduced into a large number of grammar schools. It was folly then to attempt to enforce the use of the antiquated books. The remedy lay in authorizing a new list of text-books, which was done in 1865. Of these an account will be given in the next chapter.

The authorized French grammars enjoyed varying degrees of favour. One of them, Arnold's *French Book*, was scarcely used at all and was completely discontinued a few years after it was prescribed. Two other grammars —Merlet's and Noël and Chapsal's—had but small vogue.

TABLE 7.—NUMBER OF SCHOOLS USING THE FOLLOWING FRENCH GRAMMARS BETWEEN 1855 AND 1861

	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
Merlet's French Grammar	1	4	4	3	3	5	5
Noël and Chapsal	1	1	2	3	2	3	4
Collot's or Bolmar's Lévizac	17	15	16	14	4	6	10
Arnold's French Books	4	..	..	2	..	..	..
Number of Other French Grammars	22	24	34	36	57	66	71

[1]I gather this information from the inspectors' special reports (unpublished) on the individual schools.

[2]See Inspector's report in Annual Report for 1862, p. 146.

The only prescribed grammar that enjoyed a degree of popularity was Collot's (or Bolmar's) Lévizac. The summary in table 7 is compiled from the superintendent's annual reports for the given years.

We have seen that chairs in modern languages were established in both University College and Victoria College after 1850. A certain admission requirement in modern languages was a necessary corollary. But although the senate of the University of Toronto prescribed French for the matriculation examination in arts as early as 1854[1] the prescription was neither general (that for pass candidates, it appears, was soon discontinued) nor was any attempt made to enforce it. The prescription for honours candidates consisted of French grammar and the following texts: Fénelon, *Dialogues des Morts* and Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin.* Since, however, these requirements are not specified in the calendars of the University prior to 1861-62, it is clear that they were not enforced until then.

Meanwhile other faculties of the University had prescribed French for matriculation. It was required by the faculty of law in 1858. The subjects for candidates for honours and scholarships were French grammar and Voltaire's *Charles XII.* No French was required for pass matriculants in law. The matriculation prescription for civil engineering between 1857 and 1864 also comprised the same requirements. It was not required, however, for the matriculation examination in agriculture. We see then that by 1861 French had become a prerequisite for admission into the faculties of law and

[1]See Annual Report for 1854, pp. 164f; *Journal of Education*, June, 1857, Vol. X, No. 6, p. 83. See also Alexander, *The University of Toronto and its Colleges*, p. 81.

engineering and was also prescribed for honours and scholarship candidates in the faculty of arts.

Nevertheless, French was not demanded of the majority of students seeking admission into the university. Possibly the French requirement was not rigidly enforced in any of the courses, and certainly not in the arts courses prior to 1861. Ryerson's testimony is of interest in this connection, even though, because of its patently biased nature, we cannot accept his entire statement literally. But although his account of the state of modern language instruction and the requirements for admission into University College in 1861 is unquestionably coloured by his hostility to that institution and was clearly intended to disparage its achievements, it does, nevertheless, even when due allowance is made for his motives, attest to the absence of any generally enforced entrance requirements in modern languages. For want of an obligatory matriculation examination in modern languages the course in this department at the university, according to Ryerson, had of necessity to be of an elementary nature. He says:

> "In other universities where these languages (French and German) are recognized as part of the university course, a matriculation examination is required in them, as in Latin and Greek. Not so in the Toronto University College, which is a mere girls' school for French or German, where the students learn the sounds of the letters, and so on to the pronunciation of the words, the declensions of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, and the conjugations of the verbs. Yet a learned professor is employed to teach, and honour university students are engaged in this profound a, b, c, of French and German, and even scholarships, prizes, and certificates of honour are instituted to reward the successful competitors! I happen to know that the examination questions in one of these "Modern Languages" given to the university scholarship candidates were also given to a class

> of boys in a grammar school, and the boys quite distanced the undergraduates in their answering; yet the one was an ordinary grammar school exercise, and the other was an university scholarship examination; but the prize of the best gownsman in the race was a thirty pound scholarship and a convocation eulogy, while the reward of the still better boy was the approval of his master and a direction what to get for his next lesson. But for a pass-man there is not so much as a single exercise of conversation in French, or German, in the whole university course which, it appears, does not advance so far in these modern languages as in an ordinary school for young ladies."[1]

Notwithstanding that the study of French was not compulsory on most intending matriculants, there was, nevertheless, as we have seen, an unusually rapid increase in the number of grammar school pupils learning the subject after the publication of the new programme. The enrolment in French jumped in five years from 225[2] to 1,178, representing an increase of more than 400 per cent. The year just before the new regulations became operative the registration in French constituted about five per cent. of the total attendance. Five years later the enrolment in this subject had grown to about twenty-seven per cent. of the total enrolment.

For the next four years, however, the increment in the number of French scholars in proportion to the total attendance proceeded at a retarded rate, and thereafter and to the end of the decade under review practically no gains were made. The saturation point for the period then was reached in 1864, when pupils in French had come to form 31 per cent. of the entire grammar school population. See Table 8 and Fig. 1.

The growth of the body of French students during the

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 273-274.
[2] See page 87, *ante.*

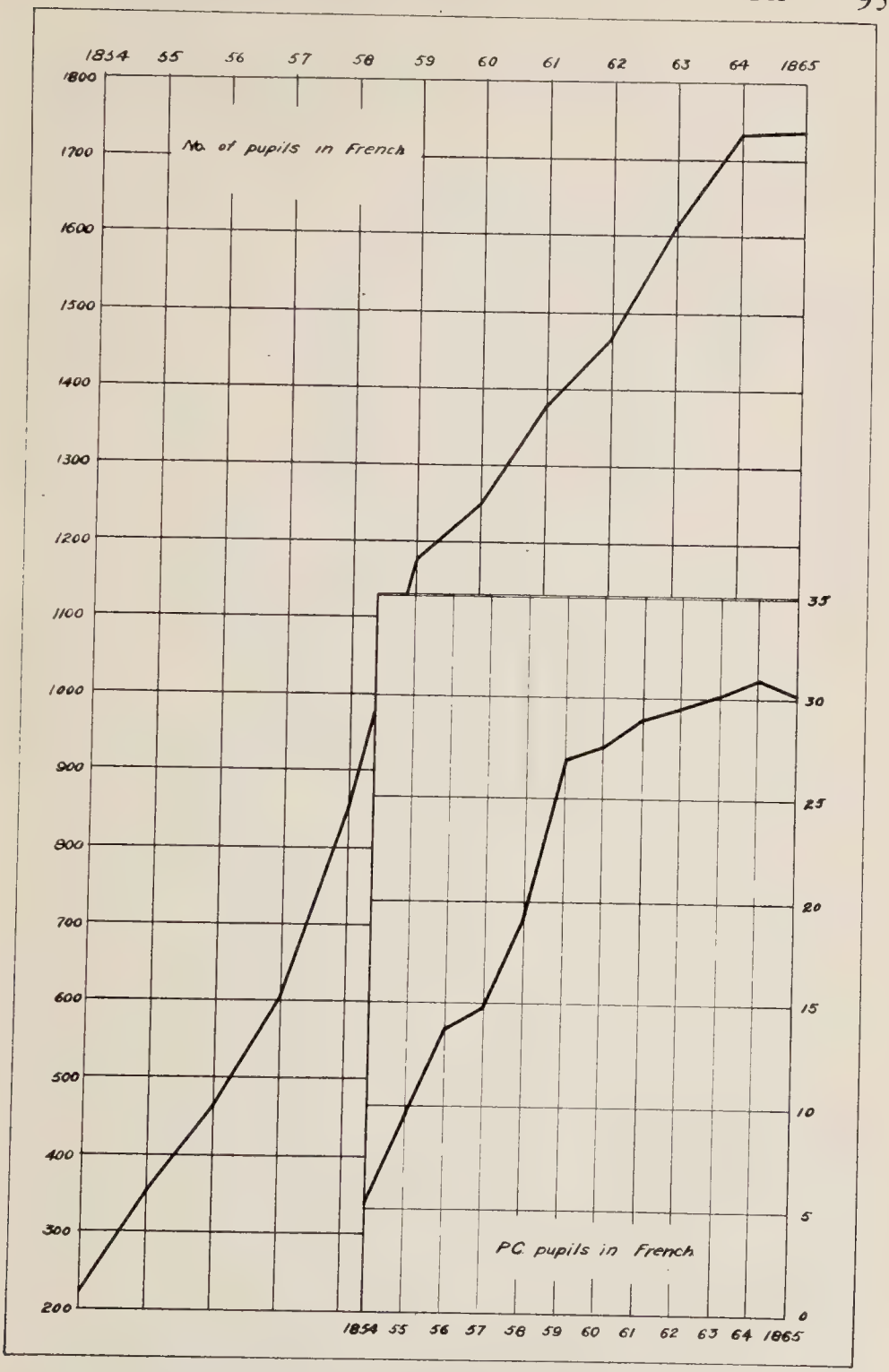

Fig. 1.—GROWTH OF FRENCH ENROLMENT IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF UPPER CANADA BETWEEN 1854 AND 1865

The growth is indicated in terms of the rise in both the number and the percentage of pupils studying French.

TABLE 8.—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS TEACHING FRENCH AND IN THE NUMBER OF PUPILS IN THE SUBJECT BETWEEN 1854 AND 1865

Year	Number of Grammar Schools		Per cent. Teaching French	Number of Pupils		Per cent. in French
	Total	Teaching French		Total	In French	
1854	64	31	48.44	4287	225	5.25
1855	65	43	66.15	3726	355	9.53
1856	61	40	65.57	3386	462	13.64
1857	72	51	70.83	4073	601	14.75
1858	75	56	74.66	4459	851	19.08
1859	81	62	76.54	4381	1178	26.88
1860	88	71	80.68	4546	1246	27.41
1861	86	79	91.86	4765	1375	28.86
1862	91	86	94.50	4982	1462	29.35
1863	95	84	88.42	5352	1610	30.08
1864	95	91	95.79	5589	1729	30.94
1865	104	94	90.38	5754	1733	30.12

period under review was the result both of the expansion in the number of schools in which French was taught and the increase in the French enrolment in the individual schools. In 1854 there were only two schools with more than twenty French scholars each; in 1865 there were about thirty schools having each an enrolment in French in excess of twenty. In the former year twelve out of the thirty-one schools giving instruction in French had each one to three pupils in the subject; in the latter year only three schools out of ninety-four had three pupils or fewer each in French. At the beginning of the period the typical French enrolment in each of the schools in which French was taught consisted of one to three pupils, at the end of the period the commonest number of French pupils on the roll in each such school was seven to nine. The average number of French scholars per school was seven in 1854 and nineteen in 1865.

The rise in the importance of French as a grammar school study is further illustrated by a comparison of

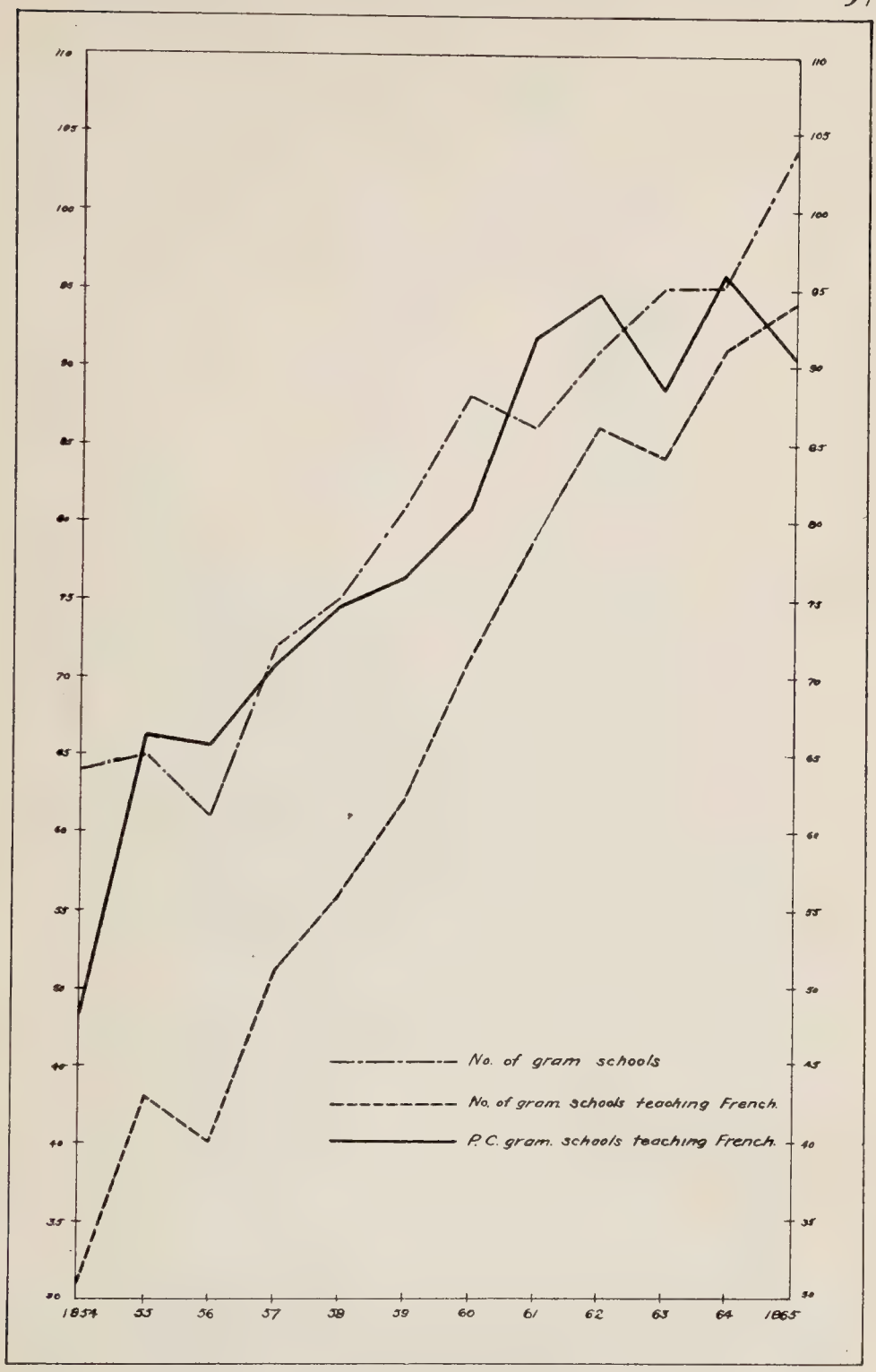

Fig. 2.—INCREASE IN NUMBER OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS TEACHING FRENCH BETWEEN 1854 AND 1865

The increase in both the number and the per cent. of grammar schools teaching French is shown.

TABLE 9.—INCREASE IN ENROLMENT IN THE VARIOUS SUBJECTS OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL PROGRAMME FROM 1855 TO 1865

Subjects	Number of Pupils	
	1855	1865
Physical Science..	1453	2429
English.....	3329	5666
Arithmetic.....	3151	5491
Geography.....	2929	5281
History.....	2036	4532
Euclid.....	676	1857
Algebra.....	833	2468
Greek.....	235	735
Latin.....	1039	3669
French.....	365	1733

the gains, in terms of the percentage of increase in the enrolment, made by this subject and the other subjects of the curriculum from 1855 to 1865. The percentage of increase in French is found to be far in excess of that of any other subject in the programme of studies. In ten years the French registration in the province increased by 374 per cent.[1] During the same period the total grammar school attendance increased by only 54 per cent. The largest gain next to French was made in the Latin enrolment which increased by 253 per cent. The subjects in which the percentage of increase was smallest (varying from 67 to 80 per cent.) were physical science, English, arithmetic, and geography. The small proportional gains in these are to be ascribed to the relatively large number of the pupils in these studies at the beginning of the period, since they were prescribed by the Act (see page 81 ante) and constituted the compulsory subjects of

[1]A comparison of the French enrolment of 1854 and 1865 would bring into still greater relief the gains made by this subject, for during this period the registration in French showed an increase of 600%. Unfortunately, however, the statistical data for the various grammar school subjects for 1854 are not available in a convenient form and a comparison cannot easily be instituted.

the programme.[1] In table 9 and fig. 3 the subjects of the grammar school course are arranged in an ascending scale, corresponding to the magnitude of the percentage of increase in the enrolment in these subjects during the decade under review. French occupies the highest place in the scale.

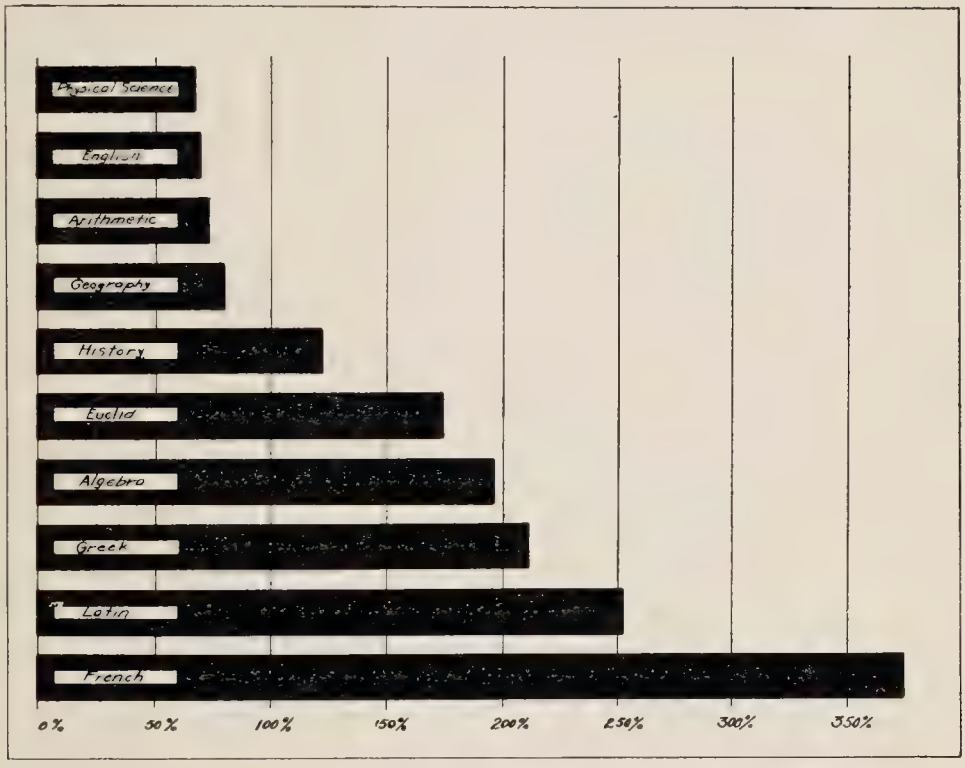

Fig. 3.—PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN ENROLMENT IN THE VARIOUS SUBJECTS OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL PROGRAMME FROM 1855 TO 1865

For the number of pupils in each subject in 1855 and 1865, see table 9.

By 1865 French was being taught in practically every grammar school in Upper Canada. This was made possible because the number of French teachers had increased, since, according to the regulations passed by the Council of Public Instruction in 1854 candidates,

[1]In connection with physical science it should be remembered that what passed as instruction in physical science was frequently nothing more than reading lessons in books on this subject.

other than university graduates, aspiring for masterships in the grammar schools were required to pass, along with other examinations, an examination in French. An effort was also made, by means of the Model Grammar School, opened in 1858, to exemplify the best methods of teaching the secondary school subjects, including French. From

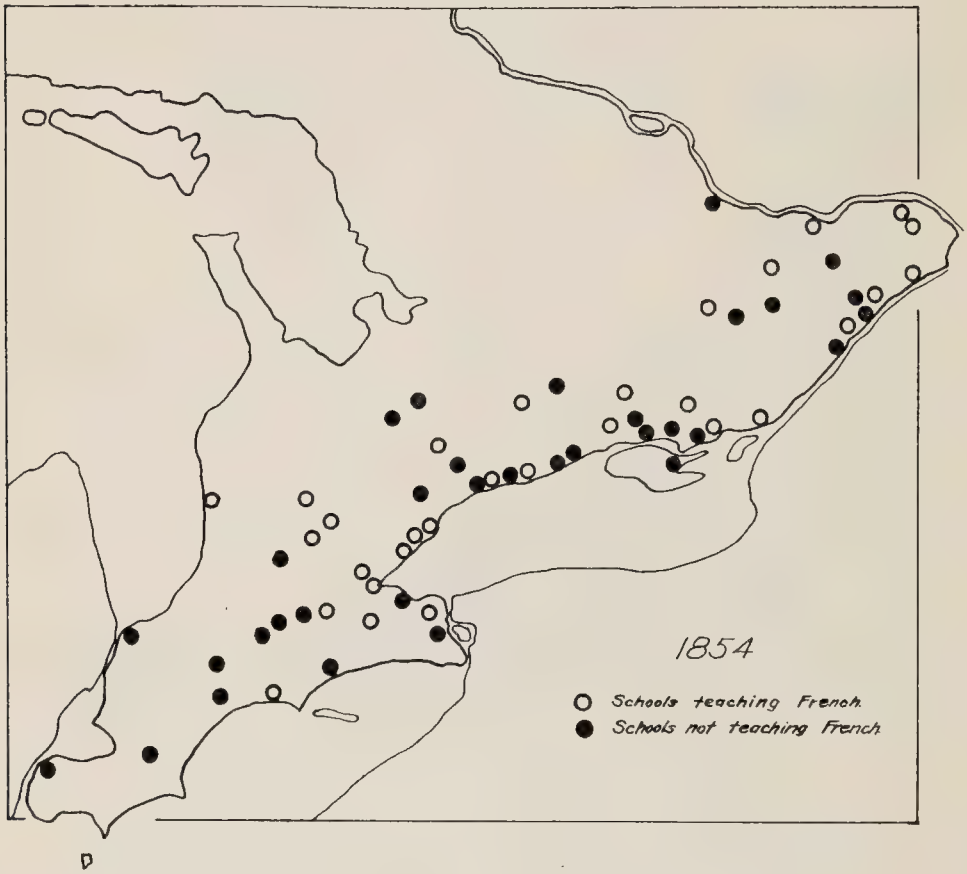

Fig. 4.—DISTRIBUTION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS TEACHING FRENCH IN 1854

1855 onward the inspectors made periodical visits to the schools and were required along with other things to report on the way in which French was being taught; whether attention was being paid to proper pronunciation, whether the pupils were being grounded in the grammar of the language, its peculiar structure, and idiomatic expressions. By 1865 then the study of French in the

grammar schools had assumed an importance not previously accorded to it.

From what has been said it must not be inferred, however, that French had now attained a rank of equality with the time-honoured subjects of the secondary school course, for despite the rapid rate of increase in the

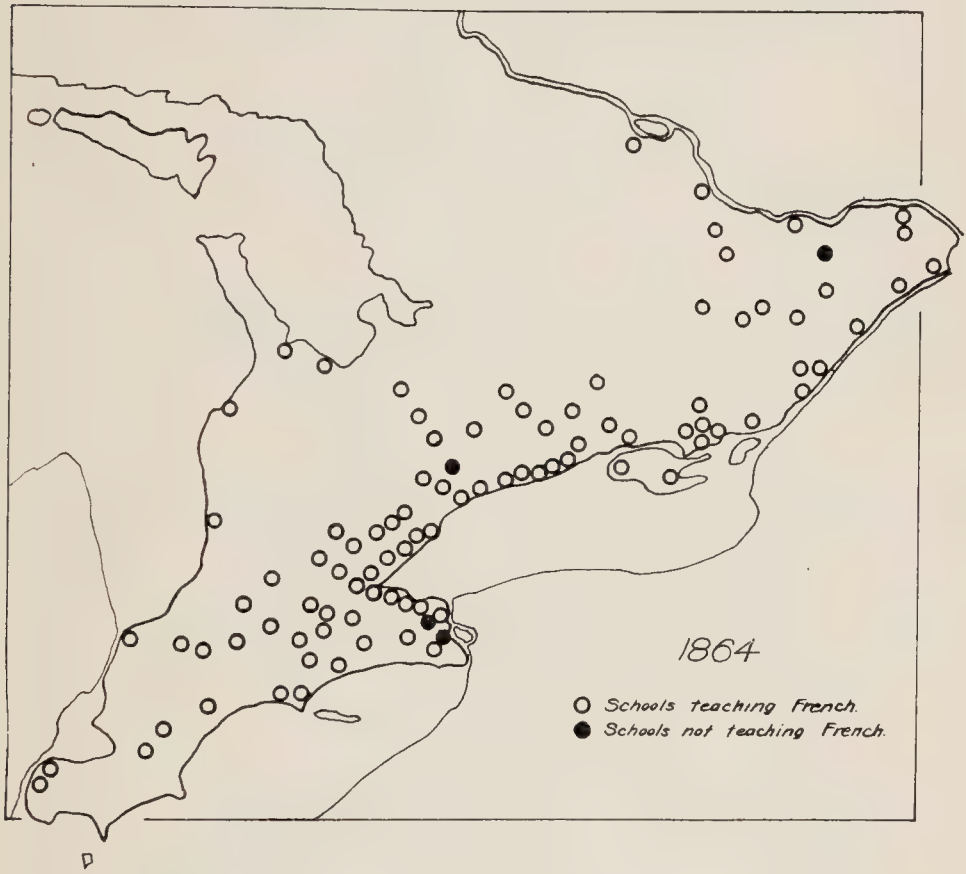

Fig. 5.—DISTRIBUTION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS TEACHING FRENCH IN 1864

number of students in this subject, they were still numerically inferior to those in the older subjects of the curriculum, nor was the study of French generally held to be of as much consequence as the pursuit of the older studies. We have merely tried to show what rapid headway was made by French as a grammar school subject and how it had risen in the course of a decade from a position of

obscurity to one of comparative prominence, how the number of French students had grown, during that period, from one in twenty to almost one in three, and had increased proportionately more rapidly than the students of any other subject.

In fact, so rapid was the influx of French pupils after 1854 that in the course of a few years they far outnumbered the Greek pupils, nearly overtook the pupils in euclid, and were steadily gaining on those in Latin. It looked as if French were in a fair way to challenge the supremacy of the old established subjects of the curriculum.

This challenge, the traditionalists, the sponsors of classical learning, were determined to forestall. They insisted on the priority of the older studies both in higher and secondary education; the cultivation of the classics and mathematics was the primary business of both the university and the grammar school. They were resolved to resist any attempt by the upstarts of the curriculum to usurp the vested rights of those studies. Of this subject more will be said in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLASSICAL RIVALRY
(1866-1870)

The programme of studies issued in 1854 had raised materially the prestige not only of French but also of the other newer school subjects, such as history, geography, and physical science, and had quickened an interest in their study. The revised curriculum of the University of Toronto had likewise tended to heighten the importance of these subjects. The newer studies

were thus gradually rising to a position of consequence and gaining a foothold in both the secondary schools and the university.

But this prominence of the modern school subjects was by no means approved by all educationists. The opposition of the traditionalists, as has already been noted, was still strong and widespread, particularly in the sphere of higher education. As a result a bitter controversy ensued between the champions of the time-honoured curriculum and those who pressed the claims of the newer studies, a controversy that was not untinged by rancour which had its roots in denominational bias and personal feeling.

A parliamentary investigation in 1860 (instigated by the Wesleyan Methodist Church and other denominational bodies) into the financial affairs of the University of Toronto[1] was made the occasion of an inquiry into the educational system of that institution. The importance attached to modern languages in the programme of University College[2] came in for severe criticism by those who sponsored the traditional curriculum. Their invectives were often as bitter as they were unreasoned. They complained that the tried practices of the past were being flouted, that the cherished educational traditions were in danger, and insisted that it was the proper business of the university to impart "classical and mathematical learning" and not to dissipate its energies on the new-fangled studies.

In his testimony before the parliamentary committee

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XV, pp. 98ff.

[2]By the Hincks Act of 1853 the University of Toronto ceased to be a teaching institution and became merely an examining and legislative body. The work of instruction was entrusted to University College, which was then created, and to any other colleges that might enter into affiliation with the University of Toronto. In reality, however, University College and the University of Toronto were practically the same institution. See Wallace, *A History of the University of Toronto*, and Alexander, *The University of Toronto and its Colleges*, p. 39.

Dr. Cook, president of Queen's College, said: "I think the study of modern languages, to any great extent, at a university, injurious to the acquirement of classical and mathematical learning, which is the main purpose of a university education to communicate."[1] Professor Weir of the same institution expressed similar views. He said that moderns were not taught at Queen's, nor did he deem their study desirable. Even without them there was little enough time for "the proper work of a college."[2]

Ryerson's testimony is of especial interest. With characteristic dexterity he made a complete *volte-face* from his former position[3] and now took up the cudgels for the traditional curriculum, in opposition to the newer courses and system of options that had recently been introduced into University College. He was undoubtedly under the influence of a feeling of not unreasonable resentment at the special privileges which had been accorded to that institution and which were denied to Victoria College and the other denominational colleges. When asked by the Committee, "Do you think there should be a professor of modern languages?" Ryerson replied:

> "I think not. But there should be a tutor, and I think the tutor should be chiefly paid by the fees of students. In Harvard University these are extra studies, and the tutors are paid by fees. I think that the period of attendance at a university is not the time for studying modern languages, but that the student's attention should be exclusively devoted to the recognized subjects of a university education, —that the study of the elements of the modern languages should be an extra study, and that the tutors employed should be chiefly paid by fees from students.[4]"

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XV, p. 106.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[3] See page 83 ante.
[4] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XV, pp. 117 and 118.

The controversy on the "university question" revealed a definite cleavage among the educationists of Upper Canada on the subject of the curriculum, and we find them ranged in two opposing camps—the modernists and the traditionalists. Ryerson, as has been pointed out, chiefly because of his opposition to the University of Toronto, threw in his lot with the sponsors of the traditional curriculum and contested the claims of modern languages to a place in the university programme. His attitude to that study in the grammar schools, too, as we shall have occasion to note, appears to have been affected by the vehement contest in which he engaged.

John Langton and Dr. Daniel Wilson appeared as the champions of the newer studies. Mr. Langton, vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto, defended the study of modern languages on the ground of their utility. Latin, he argued, had ceased to be the universal language; three-quarters of the world's learning and science was now written in French and German. Hence the knowledge of at least one of these languages was indispensable. The former was especially important to Canadians. "French, in a country circumstanced like Canada, may well be considered essential."[1] He complained that "a new dynasty of Latin and Greek is sought to be raised up in the universities of Canada."[2] Daniel (later Sir Daniel) Wilson, professor of history and English literature in University College, likewise defended the new course which had replaced the exclusively classical and mathematical programme in University College. The object of a university education in Canada, he contended, ought not to be intellectual culture alone, but preparation for the practical duties of life. A knowledge of modern

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XV, p. 170.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

languages was desirable, especially of French, "for every educated man in this country . . . ought to know at least French, which is here a spoken language."[1]

The controversy was continued with growing asperity. The defenders of the older ideals of a university education clamoured loudest and called for the restoration of the study of classics to its position of pre-eminence.

In the sphere of secondary education, too, greater stress on the study of Greek and Latin came now to be demanded.[2] The primary function of the grammar school, it was asserted, was the cultivation of these languages. But the inspectors found that the grammar schools were still doing, to a great extent, work properly belonging to the common school. They reported "the absence of a desire for classical learning among the rural population," and found fault generally with the system of secondary school education in vogue.

The inadequacy of the Act of 1853 was now patent. Ryerson proposed to introduce new legislation to remedy the existing evils in grammar school education and insure, along with other things, the primacy of the classics. This was to be effected by apportioning the legislative grant solely upon the basis of the number of pupils studying Greek or Latin. The superintendent sought to have this principle incorporated in the new Act that was under consideration in 1865, as he had already incorporated it, though ineffectually, in the revised regulations that were issued early that year.

The assistant superintendent, J. G. Hodgins, who had gone to Quebec to confer with the government and see

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[2] In England a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the administration and management of the great Public Schools had brought in a report in 1864 advocating that the classics "continue to hold, as they do now, the principal place in Public School education."

the bill through, was quick to sense the hostility of many members of the House of Assembly to the proposed "Latin and Greek basis", even though John A. Macdonald was disposed to stand by it.[1] The Hon. William Macdougall, the provincial secretary, who had charge of the measure in the House, counselled the inclusion of French grammar in the basis of distributing the annual grant, in the event of a compromise becoming necessary. Mr. Hodgins inclined to the same view, and in one of his letters from Quebec to his chief he says: "The general opinion here is that the basis of Greek and Latin alone, to the exclusion of all other subjects of a *bona fide* grammar school education, would be unjust and very discouraging."[2] In another letter he refers again to the hostility to the Greek and Latin clause and the wisdom of including modern languages in the basis of distribution: "I feel sure that we shall have to abandon the 'Latin and Greek' basis, and make it broader, in the direction of modern languages."[3]

Ryerson was determined not to deviate from his object of recognizing, for the purpose of the government grant, only those pupils who were engaged in the study of classics. Writing to the assistant superintendent he says: "I . . . propose that pupils studying French, but not Greek and Latin, shall be admitted to grammar schools, but that the average attendance of pupils in Greek, or Latin, shall be the basis of distribution."[4] Realizing, however, the danger that might result to the Act as a whole from his insistence on the priority of the classics, the adroit diplomat had the better of the scrupulous clergyman, and he added archly: "But if any difficulty

[1] See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XIX, Chapter V.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[4] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XIX, p. 31.

is likely to arise in getting the Latin and Greek clause of the Bill passed, it might be modified (or 'compromised') by saying: on 'the basis of average attendance of pupils in the programme prescribed according to law for grammar school studies'. . . . That great object had better not be jeopardized by legislation, as it may be accomplished by judicious regulations."[1]

The members of the House were not the only ones adverse to the apportionment of the funds on the basis of attendance in classics alone. This basis for distributing the government grant was opposed also by the Teachers' Educational Association of Upper Canada at their fifth annual convention in 1865. A committee, to which the matter had been referred, brought in a report, presented in the form of a resolution, which ran thus: "That the funds should be apportioned among grammar schools, including the Royal Grammar School, or Upper Canada College, according to average attendance and efficiency of students in all the subjects contained on the grammar school programme, and not *in classics alone*. . . ."[2] The spokesmen of the teachers of Upper Canada did not share Ryerson's new-born and overpowering zeal for the languages of antiquity.

Meanwhile the superintendent of education had carried on an active propaganda for the classical curriculum, using extensively the columns of the *Journal of Education*, the official educational periodical, for this purpose. The April number of 1865 is replete with articles setting forth the claimed advantages of the study of classics. The articles are quoted approvingly from some of the leading periodicals of the day and deal with such topics as "Thoughts on the Use to be Made of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[2] *Journal of Education*, October, 1865, Vol. XVIII, No. 10, p. 150.

Greek and Latin in the Education of the Higher Classes", "Importance of Classical Studies", "Verdict in Favour of Classics in the English Schools", etc.

The new Act was passed in the House and received royal assent on September 18, 1865. In the matter of the distribution of the legislative grant the alternative proposed by Ryerson was adopted. The grant was to be payable "upon the basis of the daily average attendance . . . of pupils in the programme of studies prescribed according to law." The revised programme of studies and the regulations that were issued shortly after the passage of the new Act left no doubt as to the interpretation of the clause. Ryerson's was a master stroke; he had won by a strategic manoeuvre. The priority of the classics in the grammar schools of Upper Canada was assured, for the legislative grant was now to be used largely for the encouragement of the study of Greek and Latin by the boys in these schools.

Girls were not to undertake the study of classics nor were they to be recognized as grammar school pupils for the purpose of the grant. The grammar schools, it was maintained, were primarily intended for boys. An important concession was, however, made to girls desiring to pursue a course in French, who, if the trustees so chose, might be admitted to the schools for the purpose of taking up that study. The new regulations had this to say on the subject: "To afford every possible facility for learning French, girls may, at the option of the trustees, be admitted to any grammar school on passing the preliminary and final entrance examinations required for the admission of boys. Girls thus admitted will take French (and not Latin or Greek) and the English subjects of the classical course for boys; but they are not to be returned or recognized as pupils pursuing either of the

prescribed programmes of studies of the grammar schools."[1]

The notion was widely current that girls were not adapted for learning classics and that the study of French was peculiarly suited to the feminine intellect. The old conception of French as a polite accomplishment still persisted. Latin was sternly disciplinary, French was ennobling by its grace and elegance. This view was held by the grammar school inspectors as well as by the Teachers' Educational Association. The latter carried the following resolution at the annual meeting in 1865, when the new regulations were under discussion:

> "That the grammar schools as they are to be organized under the new regulations are not suited to the wants of the higher education of girls, and we therefore recommend that they be so modified as to render Greek and Latin optional studies with girls, after they have gone through the first and second forms, and that they continue to be considered grammar school pupils so long as they pursue the remaining subjects of the curriculum."[2]

George Paxton Young, inspector of grammar schools, was emphatic in his denunciation of the practice of inducing girls, in defiance of the new regulations, to take Greek and Latin. He was impatient with the schools that drove girls "into a line of study (Greek or Latin) for which they have no inclination, and on which it is commonly a mere waste of time for them to enter." He was convinced that "a non-classical course is the most suitable for the generality of girls."[3] He advocated the study of the English branches and French by the female pupils in the grammar schools.

[1]See Revised Programme of Studies of 1865 in the Annual Report for that year, p. 83.

[2]*Journal of Education*, October, 1865, Vol. XVIII, No. 10, p. 152.

[3]See Annual Report for 1867, pp. 39ff.

Inspector J. G. D. Mackenzie commended highly the benefits to be derived by girls from learning "a graceful and elegant language, which is so peculiarly a woman's study and accomplishment as French is." He looked to the French classics that were being studied in the schools for aid in counteracting the evil influences of the objectionable current periodicals read by young women. In his annual report for 1868, under the heading of French, he says:

> "By far the greater proportion of those pupils who have taken up French are girls. It is gratifying to observe this growing taste amongst our girls for a graceful and elegant language, which is so peculiarly a woman's study and accomplishment as French is. It is to be hoped that such works as the "History of Charles XII" and Corneille's tragedy, "Horace", will come to the aid of a high and pure English literature in fortifying the minds of our young women against the many publications of the day which are calculated to turn the heads of young people and to destroy the charities and joys of the Christian home. I do not doubt that the French which is acquired at our grammar schools by the more advanced pupils will be turned to good account, though I cannot refrain from adding that it would be none the worse for greater attention to purity of accent."[1]

In spite of the new regulations which threatened not to recognize girls learning Greek and Latin and despite the fairly widespread conviction of the unsuitableness of these studies for them, the enrolment of girls in the classical subjects, far from diminishing, was manifesting, what appeared to the educational authorities, appalling signs of growth. The trustees of the various schools where these conditions obtained were held accountable for this "new-born rage for Latin", as Inspector Young termed it. The purpose was obvious—to swell the ranks

[1]Annual Report for 1868, p. 30. This paragraph is repeated in the Report for 1871, Part III, p. 4.

of the classical pupils and thereby increase the school's share of the grammar school fund. Not only was the study of Latin made obligatory on practically all the boys, but in most schools "though not legally" was "yet virtually, made imperative on girls also."[1]

Ryerson complained repeatedly of this open breach of the grammar school regulations. By 1867 he considered the situation perplexing and well nigh alarming. In his Annual Report for that year[2] he deplores the perversion of the original intention of the regulations of 1865: "To meet an alleged exigency, provision was made in the programme to admit girls . . . to attend the grammar schools to learn French in connection with the prescribed English course of studies for classical pupils, but not to be returned as grammar school pupils, whose average attendance should constitute the basis of the distribution of the fund. This exceptional regulation in behalf of girls (it being alleged that in most cases they could not otherwise have an opportunity to learn French) assumed, of course, that they would not think of studying Greek or Latin (the studying of the one or the other being the test of a grammar school pupil in the classical course)." However, instead of confining themselves to the study of French and the English branches "scores of them were found professedly studying Latin", and were returned as grammar school pupils. Ryerson makes no attempt to conceal his indignation at this overt defiance of the regulations.

But the superintendent could not ignore the attendance of "this new and startling aggregation of girls returned as *classical* pupils" nor was he able to withstand the insistent demands for their recognition. Consequently, in

[1]See Inspector's Report for 1866 and 1867 in the Annual Report for 1867.
[2]Annual Report for 1867, pp. 30ff.

the apportionment of the fund for 1867, he acceded to a compromise whereby only one-half of the girls studying Greek or Latin were to be taken into account; that is, for the purpose of the distribution of the grant *two girls* were to be regarded as equivalent to *one boy*. But this was only a temporary solution. To settle the matter permanently Ryerson submitted the question to the attorney general, who ruled that "the grammar school fund was intended for the classical, mathematical, and higher English education of boys" alone. The legislative grant was now accordingly distributed solely on the basis of the number of boys studying classics. The storm of protest that broke upon this decision, however, compelled Ryerson to yield before long and give full recognition to the female pupils. In the apportionment of the grammar school fund in 1870 the discrimination against them was completely removed. An account of the conflict between the advocates and the opponents of co-education and the higher education of women is beynod the scope of the present discussion. The conflict concerns us only in so far as it had a bearing on the comparative status of French and Latin in the grammar schools of the province.

It was inevitable that the new programme of studies and regulations, which set a pecuniary premium on the pursuit of classical languages, should react adversely on the study of French. The new regulations went into force in January, 1866. That year the enrolment in French, in proportion to the total attendance, had reached a higher point than had ever before been attained. 38 per cent. of all the grammar school pupils were learning French. After 1866, however, the percentage of attendance in French showed a disposition to fluctuate; there was a slight ebb and flow, corre-

sponding to the disqualification or recognition of girls as grammar school pupils. The enforcement of the new regulations was showing effects.

TABLE 10.—ENROLMENT IN FRENCH AND LATIN BETWEEN 1865 AND 1870

Year	Number of Grammar School Pupils			Per cent in French	Per cent. in Latin
	Total	in French	in Latin		
1865	5754	1733	3669	30.12	63.76
1866	5179	1974	4444	38.12	85.81
1867	5696	2164	5171	37.99	90.78
1868	5649	2007	4881	35.53	86.41
1869	6608	2416	5577	36.56	84.39
1870	7351	2850	6658	38.77	90.57

An exanination of table 10 will reveal the effects of the new regulations. A falling off in attendance was the first result, since the requirements for admission were now made more stringent. The most noteworthy consequence of the new regulations was the decided impetus given to the study of Latin. The percentage of enrolment in this subject had been relatively constant between 1859 and 1864, constituting about 50 per cent. of the total attendance. In 1865 the registration in Latin jumped to about 64 per cent. of the total and two years later attained the unprecedented height of 91 per cent.[1] The slight decline in the next two years was the result of the disqualification of girls as classical pupils. When

[1]There is good reason for suspecting that the figures furnished the education department with respect to the enrolment in classics were in some cases "inaccurate". At the annual meeting of the Upper Canada Teachers' Association in 1865 Inspector Young is reported to have said that "in examining some of the rolls a short time ago, he found a number of pupils returned as studying Latin and Greek, that his notes taken during the quarter, in the schoolroom, showed not to have been studying these branches at all. He corresponded with those teachers, and found that they had made a slight mistake—not intentional, of course." See *Journal of Education*, Vol. XVIII, p. 150.

the disability was removed the attendance in Latin rose once more to the high mark it had reached before.

After 1866, the year when the girls defied the regulations and flocked into the Latin classes, and 1870, when their rights to a grammar school education on a par with boys were finally conceded, the registration in French in proportion to the total attendance sometimes showed an inverse relation to the per cent. of enrolment in Latin, manifesting at times a slight tendency to decline as the percentage of attendance in Latin rose. Between 1864 and 1870 the number of pupils in Latin increased by 140 per cent., those in French by only 65 per cent.

The rivalry between Latin and the other older subjects of the curriculum, on the one hand, and French and the newer subjects, on the other hand, was only one manifestation of the ancient struggle, waged since times immemorial, between the old and the new, traditionalism and modernism, between practice sanctioned by usage and innovation untried in experience. A partial solution to the vexed problem was found in a new formula in 1871, of which an account will be given in a subsequent chapter. We must now revert to a discussion of the revised programme of studies, which was issued in 1865 and became effective the following year.

The new programme officially recognized two courses, the one designed for "classical pupils", the other for "pupils not intending to study Greek or Latin." Though in practice the latter course was virtually not followed in any of the schools,[1] its provisions are of some interest.

The non-classical course, which was of two years' duration, was devised for students aiming to become surveyors, or prepare for matriculation in civil engineer-

[1]In 1867 there were only seven boys in the whole province taking the non-classical course.

ing, or those desiring to study "the higher English branches and French without taking Greek or Latin." French was prescribed for both years, and the amount was equivalent to that taken up in the three years of the classical course. The prescription for the first year was "French grammar and exercises, Voltaire's *Charles XII*, books I and II." In the second year the work in grammar was to be continued and the pupils were required to read the third book of *Charles XII* and act IV of Corneille's *Horace*.[1]

The French programme of the classical course differed from that prescribed a decade earlier in being less specifically formulated. In the programme of 1855 the requirements in grammar had been set forth in detail, and precise limits were indicated for the work of each year. There had also been express mention of oral translation. The new programme neither defined the requirements in grammar nor did it make any explicit demands for oral work.[2] Manifestly a detailed outline of the work was no longer thought necessary, as it had been ten years earlier when French was a new subject. The superintendent's original intention of limiting the prescribed text-books to one for each subject[3] was given effect in the new programme as regards French grammar. For this subject only De Fivas' *Grammaire des Grammaires* was now authorized.

The new programme increased both the amount and the duration of the work in French authors. Act IV of *Horace* was added to *Charles XII*, previously prescribed, and the course in authors was prolonged by a year,

[1]See Annual Report for 1865, Part III, pp. 85ff.

[2]From the superintendent's statistical summaries it appears that some attention continued to be given in the schools, after the new programme became effective, to French dictation and conversation.

[3]See page 90 ante.

being begun in the fourth instead of the fifth or last year.

Aside from the few changes noted above the French programme of 1865 was not characterized by any marked innovations or any radical departure from the previous programme. The accompanying parallel tabulation of the two programmes will reveal the points of similarity and difference.

TABLE 11.—FRENCH PROGRAMMES OF 1855 AND 1866[1]

Class	1855	1866
First	None	None
Second	None	None
Third	Elements of French Grammar to end of Irregular Verbs, with Exercises. Oral and Written Translations.	Grammar and Exercises (De Fivas)
Fourth	Rules on the use of the Pronouns and Participles, with Exercises. Oral and Written Translations.	Grammar and Exercises continued. Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*, Bks. I, II, and III.
Fifth	Syntax and Idioms. Composition. Oral and Written Translations. Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (prescribed in 1857). Previous subjects reviewed.	Corneille, *Horace*, Act IV. Review of previous subjects.

CHAPTER VII

THE ADMISSION OF GERMAN

German was late in being admitted into the Ontario secondary school curriculum, and it has always held a relatively minor place in the schools. The study of German received official sanction in 1871, when it was

[1]See Annual Report for 1854, p. 154, and the Report for 1865, Part III, p. 84. These programmes were prescribed in 1854 and 1865 respectively, but became operative in each case a year later.

for the first time included in the prescribed programme of studies. The beginnings of this subject were modest indeed, for, in the first year of its authorization, it was taught only in 16 of the 102 high schools in operation, and the total enrolment for the province was only 232.[1]

Although it was not until 1871 that Ontario gave a recognized place to German in the secondary school programme, the study of this language in a number of schools antedated that year by at least three decades. It was studied in some isolated schools as early as the forties. Thus German was taught in Upper Canada College in 1842, and is reported to have been on the curriculum of "a noted private school . . . established in the town of Hamilton, in 1843, by the late very Reverend Dean Geddes, M.A., D.C.L., rector of Christ's Church there."[2] It was probably also taught in a private school opened in Toronto by a certain Miss Macnally in 1845 or 1846.[3]

That there were, in the forties, some students in the province desirous of learning German is further attested by the engagement of Jacob M. Hirschfelder as tutor in that language in King's College, a vocation that he combined with a tutorship in Hebrew. He first applied for the post of German teacher in 1843, when he was advised "that no offices for instruction in the modern languages have yet been instituted."[4] In 1844 he was appointed tutor in Hebrew and two years later he is referred to in

[1]Only two schools had comparatively large registrations in German in 1871, *viz.*, the high schools of London and Galt, which had respectively 61 and 51 pupils in the subject. The schools in Berlin and Guelph had 24 German scholars each, and the Hamilton school had 20. Thus it is seen that there were in the remaining seven schools only 52 pupils in German.

[2]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. V, p. 282.

[3]See Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto*, Third Series, p. 33.

[4]From the minutes of King's College Council, quoted in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. IV, p. 296.

the minutes of King's College Council as "Tutor in Hebrew and German."[1] The position at the time carried with it no other remuneration than that derived from fees paid by the students. About the time of his appointment Mr. Hirschfelder published a manual in German, entitled "A Key to German Conversation" (Toronto, 1845). This was, as far as can be ascertained, the first German text-book to be published in the province.

In Upper Canada College, as has been noted, German was taught as early as 1842.[2] Mr. Hirschfelder was the first teacher of the language. It was taught as an extra subject and attracted only a small number of pupils. In 1857 the Rev. E. Schlüter was appointed "occasional German master" to be remunerated by the pupils whom he taught at the rate of one dollar per term for each, with an allowance of fifty pounds a year guaranteed by the senate. Ten years later he was made a regular member of the staff.[3]

No mention of German is to be found in any of the published grammar school reports before 1871, both because, as has already been pointed out, it was not prior to that date a recognized school subject and because of the negligible number of pupils engaged in the study. That German received some attention in a few grammar schools even before the teaching of it was formally sanctioned by legislative enactment and the new programme of studies is, however, evident from the inspectors' unpublished reports on the individual schools in their inspectorates.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 128.

[2] Young, *The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College*, p. 8 and p. 54. See also *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 134.

[3] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 114, 115 and 167.

[4] These unpublished special reports on the individual grammar schools are in the Department of Education, Toronto.

In his special report on the grammar school of Berlin (now Kitchener) in 1855 inspector William Ormiston says that there were five pupils in German, but he gives no further information on the subject. In 1859, according to the same inspector, there were three pupils learning German in the Windsor Grammar School. When the Rev. W. F. Checkley paid his inspectoral visit to the Berlin school in 1863, he found eight pupils studying Ollendorff's German grammar. The inspector explains the inclusion of German in the course of study of this school on ethnological grounds: "The population of Berlin and the neighbourhood being principally German, that language necessarily forms part of the course of study in the school. The trustees have engaged a special master for the purpose of teaching it."

In 1864 German was dropped from the curriculum of the Berlin Grammar School, but was put on again the following year, when there were nine pupils in the subject. In the Guelph Grammar School inspector G. P. Young found two boys studying German in 1865. He reports having heard them "read a few sentences in Heydenreich's *Elementary Reader*", and adds, "They promise pretty well." It appears that German was taught in only one other grammar school that year, namely, in the Beamsville school, which had only one boy in the subject.

In the inspectoral reports of 1866 the Galt Grammar School ("Tassie's School") alone is mentioned as giving instruction in German. The following year German was taught, in addition to Galt, also in the Prescott Grammar School, but the latter had only one lone German scholar.

The method of teaching German, in those days, was evidently of the severely grammatical type, in which the chief attention was given to parsing, declining and conjugating. In teaching authors the interest was purely

linguistic; it was centred in the grammatical structure and the translation into English rather than in the content of the matter read. Inspector Young complains of this complete indifference to the literary qualities of the selections studied. In his special report on the Galt Grammar School in 1868 he says:

> "I heard Mr. Zimmermann's most advanced German class read the well-known poem, 'Kennst du das Land, u.s.w.' They translated pretty well; but I regretted that nothing had been done to awaken their minds, even though it had only been in passing, to an aesthetic appreciation of so beautiful a composition."

By 1868 German had acquired an important place in "Tassie's School", for there were now 30 pupils learning the language. No other grammar school appears to have taught German that year. In 1869 this language was taught also in the Brampton Grammar School, which had a German enrolment of eight.

In 1870, the year just prior to the authorization of the study of German in the secondary schools of Ontario, there were apparently only four such schools in whose curricula this language had a place (the high school inspector mentions no others), namely, the schools of Galt, Cobourg, Clinton, and Hamilton. But only the first of these had a relatively large number of pupils enrolled in German; in the remaining three schools the registration in this subject varied from four to ten. The combined German enrolment in these four schools was only 59, and of this number 38 were pupils of the Galt Grammar School.

As far as can be ascertained, of all the grammar schools in Ontario that of Galt alone has taught German without a break ever since the sixties. In other schools this language was prior to 1871 taught only sporadically, and

they had, all taken together, a mere handful of pupils in the subject. The grammar school of Galt and a few others, evidently by virtue of their situation in German settlements[1] formed, in a sense, the nucleus of the schools in which German was taught.

Such were the meagre beginnings of the teaching of German in the state-aided secondary schools of the province prior to the official sanction of that study in 1871. If we except the grammar school of Galt, German was negligible as a school subject. It was one of the most recent accessions to the curriculum and interest in the language was only just beginning to be manifested in the province.

Ontario was not unique in its tardy recognition of German as a school study. In both England and the United States this language lagged behind French in being admitted into the secondary school programme.

In England the French language had been taught for centuries by the private tutor and the governess before any need was felt for the study of German. Indeed a knowledge of this language was extremely rare in Great Britain down to the early decades of the nineteenth century, as was also an acquaintance with German achievements in literature and philosophy.

The study of German in England was stimulated, in a measure, by the writings of a number of English men of letters. Of these Sir Walter Scott was one of the earliest to be attracted by German literature, as he was also one of the first to make some specimens of it accessible, in translation, to the English reading public.[2] In 1796

[1]For the ethnological distribution of the population of the province see Hunter, *The Ethnographical Elements of Ontario*, in the *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, Vol. III, pp. 180 ff.

[2]The first German works to be translated into English were Gellert's *History of the Swedish Countess of G——* (1752) and Rabener's *Satirical*

appeared his translation of Bürger's *Leonore* and *Der wilde Jäger* and three years later that of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*. Scott's translations enabled the English reader to peer into a literature practically unknown at the time. The poet Coleridge came under the influence of German literature and thought during a year's stay in Germany, an influence which lasted for the rest of his life. His translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (1800) was one of the first results. He did much to familiarize his countrymen with German thought. Carlyle's susceptibility to German influence, which deeply coloured his works, is well known. He had a great share in arousing an interest in the study of the German language and literature among the English-speaking peoples.

The agitation for state-controlled, compulsory education in England was spurred on by German example,[1] which was repeatedly cited in support of free and compulsory popular education. There were these and other influences at work in Great Britain which tended to raise the dignity of the German language and give it a place in the secondary school curriculum. This place has, however, remained subsidiary to that of French. German came in as a second language and has since retained that position.

Letters (1757). These appear to have made no perceptible impression. The first translation from German that aroused a degree of interest in England was Gessner's *Death of Abel,* translated by Mrs. Collyer in 1763. The isolation of German literature early in the eighteenth century is well illustrated by the fact that apparently only one German literary work was reviewed in any of the English magazines of the period, *viz.,* Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* in the *Republic of Letters* for November, 1731. See Baker, "Some References to German Literature in English Magazines of the Early Eighteenth Century" in *Modern Language Notes* for April, 1909, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, pp. 111 ff.

[1]Of the German states Prussia was the first one of importance to centralize education and make it universal, compulsory, and free.

In the United States the study of German in the secondary schools was not common before the seventies of the last century. There had been isolated instances of the introduction of that language in some early American schools. But these cases were exceptional. The colleges and universities led the way in the admission of German. The earliest of these were the University of Pennsylvania, William and Mary, and the University of Virginia. Harvard College began teaching German in 1825. Yale established courses in German in 1831, discontinued them the following year, but resumed instruction in the subject in 1834. A number of the early academies taught German, but the practice was rare before 1830. After the middle of the century, however, the study of the language made appreciable gains in the high schools and became fairly general after 1870.

It will be seen that in introducing German into the high schools in 1871 Ontario was following the lead of both the mother land and the neighbouring states. The new importance attached to the study of German everywhere was the natural consequence of the great prominence to which Germany had now risen both politically and in the realms of literature and philosophy. In regard to education, moreover, she was now in the lead of the world, and Ontario did not escape her dominating educational influence.

This influence was the more pronounced because Ryerson had personally come in contact with the German school system. In his educational tour before assuming his office as superintendent of education he had visited Germany (along with other countries) and had been potently impressed by the educational system of Prussia. His report of 1846 and the legislation based on it reveal the extent of his indebtedness to German examples. He

was indebted to Prussia for his conception of universal and compulsory popular education as well as teacher training. The whole gamut of elementary school studies advocated by Ryerson was borrowed from Prussia, whose methods of teaching these subjects he commended with unstinted praise. The types of schools which the report recommended for establishment in Upper Canada were to be analogous, in the main, to similar schools in Prussia. The common schools were to follow the pattern of the Prussian primary schools, the district model schools that of the German *Realschulen*, and the grammar schools were to be fashioned after the Prussian higher burgher schools and gymnasiums.[1]

Ryerson always manifested a sympathetic attitude to schools situated in German settlements in the province, attended and staffed by German pupils and teachers. When the school superintendent of the District of Wellington complained to Ryerson in 1846 that the schools in the townships of Waterloo, Woolwich, Wilmot, and Wellesley were taught, for the most part, by German masters who were aliens and who consequently could not, according to the school act, be licensed as teachers, Ryerson wrote in reply that the act was not aimed against them and proposed to have legislation introduced to redress the injustice: "I do not imagine that there will be any difficulty in obtaining the modification of the law so as to meet the case of the teachers and inhabitants mentioned by you."[2] Licenses to German teachers were accordingly granted ungrudgingly. It was in these German districts, as we have seen, that the study of German was early introduced into the grammar schools.

Ryerson always retained a deep admiration for the

[1]See Ryerson's report quoted in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. VI, pp. 140-211.
[2]See letters in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 293.

Prussian school system. In 1870 he wrote: "Every enlightened country in Europe is at this moment disposed to learn lessons of educational wisdom from Prussia. England has not failed within the last year or two to profit largely by her experience." In support of his praise of Prussian educational practices, he quotes the following from the "Estimate of the Prussian System of Schools" by Her Majesty's Commissioners (1868): "When we view it as a whole, the Prussian system appears to be at once the most complete and the most perfectly adapted to its people of all that now exist. It is not wanting in the highest cultivation like the American, nor in dealing with the mass of the middle classes," etc.[1]

The establishment of a chair in modern languages in University College in 1853 and the institution of lectures in German (along with other modern languages) undoubtedly helped to stimulate an interest in the German language. Professor Forneri, the first incumbent of the chair, was the author of a German grammar and came to University College highly recommended as a teacher of languages, including German. At least three other members of the faculty at the time were thoroughly conversant with that language. One of them was a native, Jacob M. Hirschfelder, referred to before as lecturer in oriental languages, and the other two were Englishmen—Professors Croft and Chapman. Henry Holmes Croft, professor of chemistry and experimental philosophy, had studied at the University of Berlin, and Professor Edward Chapman, who was at the head of the department of mineralogy and geology, had received his Ph.D. degree from Göttingen University.

The admission of German into the university curriculum inevitably led to the subject being placed on the

[1]Annual Report for 1870, pp. 21 f.

matriculation examination. That there was a senior matriculation examination in German set by the University of Toronto in the sixties is evident from the following minute of October 21, 1864, in the proceedings of the Senate: "Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn moved . . . that in the senior matriculation Aue's German Grammar be substituted for Forneri's. (Carried)."[1] It is certain, however, that there were but few candidates for this examination, since the opportunities for the study of German in the secondary schools of Upper Canada at the time were, as we have seen, extremely meagre.

The institution of lectures in German in University College and the consequent inauguration of a matriculation examination in this subject led the way to the introduction of German into the secondary schools.

This was rendered possible by the growing number of teachers of German available in the province. After the second decade of the century numerous immigrants from Germany came to Upper Canada, settling for the most part in districts inhabited by Germans of Pennsylvanian origin.[2] Among these settlers there were educated men who were qualified to give instruction in their native tongue. Such German teachers became more numerous as immigration from Germany increased.[3] We have it on the authority of the Ontario Grammar School Masters' Association that by the sixties there was "certainly in Canada no . . . lack of . . . highly cultivated Frenchmen and Germans."[4] In addition to the native teachers there were now becoming available in the province also

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 151.

[2]See fifth Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society, pp. 24 ff. and the fourteenth Annual Report, pp. 220 ff.

[3]According to the census of 1871 there were in Ontario that year 22,827 natives of Germany.

[4]*The Upper Canada College Question*, p. 37.

some graduates of old country and Ontario universities who were capable of giving instruction in the German language.

To resume, then, there were several influences at work that led to the recognition of German as a grammar school study in Ontario and to its admission into the programme of studies in 1871. Chief among these was the eminence that Germany had now attained in politics, industry, science, letters, philosophy and education. Europe and America were becoming increasingly indebted to her for her contributions in these several spheres, and the natural consequence was a growing attention to the study of German in both secondary schools and colleges. The admission of German into the high school curriculum of Ontario was stimulated more particularly by the example of the secondary schools in England and the United States. This study appears to have been viewed sympathetically by Ryerson who had a warm admiration for German educational practices, an admiration that had its origin in his educational tour of Germany in the forties. Moreover, the establishment of courses in German in University College emphasized the need for a preparatory course in the subject in the secondary schools. The introduction of such a course was facilitated, in a measure, by the existence in the grammar schools of the province, and more especially in the German districts, of at least a nucleus of students in the language, and by the increasing availability of German teachers.

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE CLASS-ROOM
(1854-1870)

The present chapter purposes to give an account of the state and progress of the teaching of French with

respect to details of classroom procedure in the grammar schools of the province during the second half of the sixth and the whole of the seventh decade of the last century. It will therefore deal with such matters as the character of modern language classes, teachers and their qualifications, the attainments of pupils, the characteristics of text-books in use, methods of instruction, and other similar questions relating to the topic under discussion.[1]

The account here given is based to a large extent on data furnished by the confidential reports—hitherto unpublished—made by the grammar school inspectors on the individual schools in their inspectorates.[2] These data are, however, often incomplete and not infrequently at variance one with the other. The lack of consistency is natural enough when it is remembered that there were during the period in question seven different grammar school inspectors whose training and views were often widely diverse.

Their unequal linguistic equipment was, more particularly, the cause of considerable disparity in their standards and judgments. The guarded manner in which the early inspectors reported on the pronunciation of French in the schools and their silence about that of German make it difficult to suppress the suspicion that their own pronunciation of the former was uncertain and that they knew nothing about the latter. The last two inspectors of the period, on the other hand, were quite competent to pass judgment on oral French. The Reverend George Paxton Young was an accomplished French scholar and was manifestly also at home in

[1]For an account of the teaching of German during the period under review see the preceding chapter.

[2]These reports are in the Department of Education, Toronto.

German, and his successor, the Reverend J. G. D. Mackenzie, was proficient in the French language and seems to have been particularly strong on the oral side. He must for this reason have been an unwelcome visitor in many of the French classes.

These were usually small in size during the sixth and seventh decades, and especially during the former. Classes of two, three, or four students were common. Nor had individual teaching been completely abandoned. This is evident from the instructions issued to the inspectors ordering them to report whether the method of teaching was "simultaneous, or individual, or mixed . . ., if simultaneous, that is by classes, in what subjects of instruction; whether the simultaneous method is not more or less mingled with individual teaching. . . ." Individual instruction as a recognized method was, nevertheless, rare even at the beginning of the period, and tended more and more to give way to instruction by classes. The forms were, however, frequently poorly graded. In 1857 the grammar school inspector for the western section of Upper Canada complained that "There still exists a very large diversity and irregularity in the organization and classification of the schools . . ., arising from the mixed character and attainments of the pupils and the frequent changes that take place."[1] The unequal attainments of the members of the class added greatly to the difficulties of teaching and made work in the classroom irksome alike to master and scholar.

There were other factors, too, that tended to make the work unpleasant. Among these may be mentioned the *externa* of the school and the text-books in current use. The classroom was usually an uninviting place, even when measured by the standards of the time; it was

[1]Annual Report for 1857, p. 208.

cheerless and bleak and oppressive. So was also the external appearance of the schoolhouse. "Even in the neatest premises," the inspector wrote in 1855, "I saw no attempt at ornament: not a tree, shrub, or flower to awaken or cultivate a taste so simple and natural, and so easily gratified in rural districts," and the worst of these schoolhouses "could scarcely be considered habitable."[1] Many of them were "dirty, dilapidated, and forbidding," with similar classrooms, whose desks were "whittled, besmeared, and strangely carved."[2] The decrepit state of the one-time celebrated Cornwall Grammar School was apparently characteristic of many other schools of those days. It is described in one of the confidential reports for 1856 as "an old, dingy, dirty, frame building—badly furnished and ill-swept." There were, of course, a number of schools of seemly appearance, properly furnished and neatly kept, and the proportion of these increased as time went on. That improvement in the condition of the schoolhouses and classrooms was, however, by no means either rapid or general is evident from the following comment of the inspector in 1870: "Some of our high school buildings are . . . so absurdly out of keeping with the appellation 'High School', that, in my judgment, they should be tolerated not one moment longer than the time that may be required for the erection of better."[3]

If the classrooms were uninviting the French classbooks were not less so. The French grammar, in particular, was a dull and lifeless book, with nothing to relieve its drab monotony. It was packed full of rules and exceptions, bewildering in their completeness. The

[1]Annual Report for 1855, p. 291.
[2]Annual Report for 1857, pp. 207 *f.*
[3]Annual Report for 1870, Part III, p. 4.

format of the earlier books especially was as unattractive as were their contents; they were usually 16mo or 18mo in size with the grammatical rules printed in seven point type and the paradigms as well as the French words in the interlinear exercises in still minuter "pearl" type. In accordance with the traditional plan, these grammars were divided into two parts, dealing respectively with accidence and syntax. They contained full treatments of each of the parts of speech arranged in the conventional sequence. There were no French vocabularies given in connection with the lessons. These were supplied interlinearly in the exercises to be done into French. The interlinear French words were not selected for their utility but were given purely at random, being intended merely to exemplify certain grammatical rules in the haphazard, jumbled sentences that lacked both rhyme and reason. The following are a few typical examples: "The engagement was warm. That is an original thought. This cloth is best of all. They are delusive promises. He seduces by his fawning manners. The delightful valley of Tempe is in Thessaly. She is deaf and dumb."

Although the grammars used later in the period—De Fivas', Ollendorff's and Fasquelle's—represented in many ways a decided advance over the earlier ones, they were not free from many of the characteristic faults that marred the text-books that preceded them. A discerning criticism of Ollendorff's book was made by the grammar school inspector as early as 1860, when he described it as a "method from which no mental training can be derived, as it consists of broken sentences without any logical connection."[1]

[1]Inspector Ambery in his special report on the Ottawa Grammar School.

Among the books most widely used in teaching French authors were Voltaire's *Charles XII* and Corneille's *Horace*. Following the established practice in Greek and Latin, the learner was usually put directly into the French classics without any preliminary study of simpler texts. But the French classics were, of course, not read primarily for their literary qualities. They served rather as material for drill in French declensions and conjugations and for the analysis of grammatical subtleties, in accordance with the methods employed by the language masters of the time.

The qualifications of the masters in those days were markedly varied and of differing degrees of merit. They were an extremely heterogeneous body, due to their diversity of origin and training. Of the sixty-four grammar school masters in 1854 nineteen were graduates of the four provincial universities; seven held degrees from an Irish university; seven from three different Scottish universities; four were graduates of as many American colleges; and one was a graduate of an English university. In addition to these there were twenty-six masters who held no degrees. Of these eight had certificates from the committee of examiners, fourteen had been appointed before the new law became effective, which required that masters be either graduates or hold provincial certificates, and four others had no qualifications of any kind. Although the proportion of grammar school masters who were graduates of the provincial universities kept on increasing, there were still, in 1861, out of fifty-seven masters with university degrees, twenty-one who had received their training in twelve different foreign universities of five different countries. It is not surprising then that there was wide diversity in

the schools both in the methods of instruction and in the degree of proficiency of the teachers.

The regular masters were not always qualified to teach French, and a number of the schools employed teachers whose native tongue was French as part-time instructors in the language.[1] Some schools—as, for example, the Ottawa Grammar School in 1861—still commanded an extra fee for such instruction. This practice was, however, rare, and did not obtain in schools where the regular teachers gave instruction in the French language. Such teachers were becoming increasingly numerous.

Some of these teachers, too, showed considerable skill in handling the subject, and succeeded in imparting a fair knowledge of it to their pupils, as the following excerpts, selected from the inspectors' special reports of various years, will show:

> Niagara, 1855: "French taught very well. . . . The mode of teaching, conversational and interesting—active, earnest, and prompt."
>
> London, 1858: "Class in French read a chapter of *Charles XII*—pronounced well."
>
> Barrie, 1859: "A class in French read and translated very well."
>
> Lindsay, 1863: "In French also they pronounced, translated, and parsed very fairly."
>
> Galt, 1864: "The French classes under Miss Crawford

[1]The following are some of the grammar schools that employed native French teachers, with the years in which they were employed. In some cases the names of the teachers have been recorded by the inspectors and are reproduced here: Hamilton, 1857; Cornwall, 1859 (in 1860 "a French lady" taught French in this school); Ottawa, 1861; Toronto, 1861—Emile Coulon (see pages 83 and 186); Hamilton, 1864—M. Lafont; Ottawa, 1865—M. Dorion; L'Original, 1867—M. Marsil; St. Catharines, 1867—M. Sagnieur; Toronto, 1869—M. Paradis; Ottawa, 1870—M. Barthelot, etc.

are all that can be desired. She both knows her subject well and can teach it."[1]

Cornwall, 1864: "With French I was very much pleased. Mr. Eveleth knows his subject well and has a fair capacity for teaching it."

Prescott, 1867: "She (Miss Hatton) has charge of the female department, and teaches French, German, and some of the English classes. . . . She is an excellent French teacher."

Gananoque, 1868: "As to the French, Mr. Bradbury (M.A., Trinity College) is the best teacher of that language I have yet met with in our grammar schools, and his class in *Horace* (4 girls) did him great credit. He pays special attention to pronunciation, which is so generally neglected. This purity of accent is quite remarkable in one not accustomed to converse in the language."

The majority of the teachers of French in the grammar schools of Upper Canada were, however, by no means as proficient as those referred to in the above quotations. In many cases they had but an imperfect knowledge of the language in general and were lamentably ignorant of its pronunciation.

We get an idea of the crudity of their pronunciation from the reports of the grammar school inspectors in the late sixties. The earlier inspectors have left little on record with regard to the proficiency or deficiency of the teachers in oral French. These inspectors were apparently indulgent with the defective French pronunciation heard in the classrooms, probably because, as was suggested above, their own knowledge of it was imperfect. The later inspectors, on the other hand, frequently found fault with the way in which French was pronounced in the schools, as also generally with the teachers' inadequate linguistic training, their methods of

[1]A small number of the modern language teachers during this period were women.

instruction and the unsatisfactory results shown by pupils in their charge.

But no other inspector of the latter period was so impatient with inferior performance in French, particularly if it included faulty pronunciation, as was the Rev. J. G. D. Mackenzie in the late sixties. He never tired of complaining of the lack of "purity of accent" in both masters and scholars. This complaint was the recurring refrain of his reports. He was zealous for the purity of French pronunciation in the schools and critical of offences against it. He was as loud in his praise of both teachers and pupils who pronounced the language creditably as he was trenchant in his censure of those who pronounced it badly. The following are a few of his characteristic comments on the teaching of French:

> Barrie, 1868: "In French a portion of *Charles XII* was selected. Translation and pronunciation respectable, though as to the latter particularly, admitting of improvement. . . ."
>
> St. Thomas, 1868: "Her [pupil's] French too was exceedingly good, in which she could lay claim to the rare merit of correct pronunciation. Mr. M. [the Rev. John McClare, headmaster] himself has a pure accent, understands its value and takes pains to communicate it to pupils."
>
> Kincardine, 1869: "I was pleased with a class in French grammar, though mere beginners. What they had learnt had been well taught and (rare excellence!) their accent on the whole was good."
>
> Picton, 1869: "French was very poor, accent bad and translation lame and inaccurate. The master himself was by no means at home in this subject."

Inspector Mackenzie's immediate predecessor, George Paxton Young, apparently held a more charitable view of the character of modern language teaching in the schools and declared it to be creditable for the most part, though he did not hesitate to call attention to short-

comings where these existed, as a few excerpts from his special reports will attest:

> Carleton Place, 1864: "The French was pretty good; pronunciation rather defective."
>
> Port Rowan, 1864: "The French pronunciation of the pupils, like that of the master, is utterly bad."
>
> Strathroy, 1865: "None of the pupils, except the most advanced, knew more than a few tenses of the verbs; and even the two most advanced were unable to go quite through verbs of the first conjugation."

Young sometimes complained of the exclusive emphasis on the linguistic elements in modern language teaching and the total indifference to the literary aspect of the study (see page 121). The all-absorbing concern was with grammar—accidence and syntax—to which even the reading of the classical authors was subordinated. These works were, in fact, as we have seen, largely used as material for grammatical drill and analysis in much the same way as the Greek and Latin authors were used.

The requirements in French in so far as they were centrally prescribed were, as regards aims and methods, identical with the requirements in the classical languages. Indeed in the early instructions to the inspectors, in which they were directed to inquire into the pupils' attainments in the languages, Greek, Latin, and French were grouped together. The inspectors were ordered to report whether the pupils were "well grounded in an accurate knowledge of their [*i.e.*, Greek, Latin, and French] grammatical forms and principles; their proper pronunciation, peculiar structures and idioms, and whether taught by oral and written exercises and compositions in these languages, as well as by accurate and free translation of the standard authors."[1]

[1]Quoted by Hodgins in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XI, p. 203.

Such were the aspects of language teaching that the inspectors were required to observe and report on. Aims and methods in foreign language teaching similar to those indicated in the instructions just quoted had been formulated by Ryerson in 1854, when he wrote:

> The foundations of sound scholarship in *foreign languages* can only be laid in an accurate knowledge of their proper pronunciation, and a clear perception of their differences of structure and idiom from the English and from each other—objects which cannot be accomplished without the practice of oral and written exercises and composition in the language taught, as well as of accurate and free translation of standard authors.[1]

But these are to be regarded rather as ideal aims, for they were but rarely realized by the methods actually employed in the classrooms. Here learning by rote flourished. Nor was this style of teaching confined to the languages. Hence the grammar school inspectors asserted that much of the instruction in the schools was "by no means intellectual—too much dependence being placed on text-books and the recitation of lessons committed to memory". They complained that "the memory is cultivated at the expense of judgment, and the pupils are required to repeat rather than reason, to quote rules and cite formularies rather than to explain and investigate them." Although the inspectors were able to report "several noble exceptions" to this mode of teaching, instruction in the languages was predominantly of the type described.

It was the heyday of formal grammar. The methods employed in teaching French had been taken over ready-made from Latin, and although there was considerable diversity among the teachers in respect to details of class-

[1]Annual Report for 1854, p. 163.

room procedure, the study of French was largely a matter of memorizing paradigms, rules, and exceptions, and reciting these to the master. In French "composition" the aim was primarily to emphasize the rules studied rather than to furnish the learner with a working vocabulary of the foreign language or a serviceable knowledge of its grammatical structure. The study of the language was, as a rule, not vitalized, for there was no attempt to acquaint the pupil with the life or civilization of the people whose language was being studied.

Inspector Robertson describes a French lesson witnessed in 1855. The text-book used was Ollendorff's. The class consisted of "four males and three females". In the inspector's words:

> In French they were saying off parts of verbs and short sentences [apparently the illustrative sentences in Ollendorff which had been memorized]. They made a tolerable attempt at the exercises in Ollendorff, turning English into French.

The following description by Inspector Ormiston of a French lesson taught in 1857 shows the predominant importance attached to formal grammar:

> The master dictated a sentence in *English*, *French* or *Latin*, which each pupil was required to write upon a slate. This was first examined and then each word was parsed. The class were only in the rudiments. . . .

That parsing was accepted as a standard and desirable device in modern language teaching is evident from the following complaint by Inspector Young of the insufficient attention paid to this phase of French instruction in the Berlin Grammar School in 1864:

> A French class was examined in *Charles XII.* The translation was very good; parsing had not been sufficiently attended to.

A similar complaint was made by Inspector Mackenzie

in 1870 with reference to a French class in the Simcoe Grammar School:

> A class in De Fivas' *Elementary Reader* were good as to translation; but poor as to parsing.

A distinctive method for teaching modern languages had not yet been evolved. Here and there the voice of the missionary might have been heard, but it was the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness. The teacher whose mode of teaching French in 1855 was "conversational and interesting, active, earnest, and prompt" (see page 134) had no disciples, and did not transmit his method to his successors. They, like his contemporaries, were content with pursuing the tried methods, the methods that had been found adequate in teaching the languages of Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORMULA OF 1871
(1871-1875)

The Act of 1865 proved to be the cause of more evils than it had sought to remedy. The two most baneful consequences of the Act and the revised regulations based on it were the increasing tendency to form "union schools" (*i.e.*, the union of common and grammar schools) and the all too prevalent sham study of Latin.

The practice of amalgamating common and grammar schools was as disastrous for elementary as for secondary education. On the one hand, the common school department of the union school was being depleted of all the pupils that could possibly be recruited into the grammar school section and was therefore compelled to give up teaching all but the most elementary subjects; and, on

the other hand, the grammar school, receiving ill-equipped and immature pupils, was under the necessity of doing work properly belonging to the elementary school. The desire on the part of the trustees of such amalgamated schools to crowd elementary school pupils into the secondary school department was natural enough, since thereby the legislative grant per pupil was enormously increased. Grammar school inspector George Paxton Young complained bitterly in 1867 of "the tendency . . . for all the pupils, male or female, except those who are in the merest elements of English, to be sucked into the vortex of the grammar school department." "Every child in the common school department," he says, "boy or girl, who is supposed to have any chance of wriggling through the meshes of the inspector's examining net, is transferred to the grammar school, and enrolled as a classical pupil."[1]

By making the study of Latin the distinguishing characteristic of grammar school pupils the regulations of 1866 had virtually made this subject obligatory on all. It was in practice the *sine qua non* of a share in the legislative grant, with the result that the enrolment in this subject, as was noted in a previous chapter, soon reached the staggering proportion of 90 per cent. of the whole attendance—to the serious detriment of the other subjects of the curriculum, especially English literature, science, and modern languages. These were largely neglected; they had to be sacrificed to the classics. Nor were the great majority of the pupils who were learning Greek and Latin adequately equipped to undertake such study. Indeed their time would have been better spent in the classrooms of the elementary schools.

The regulations had not been long in force before Ryerson became aware of their baneful effects. Forgetful

[1]See Annual Report for 1867, p. 41.

apparently of his own share in bringing about the situation, he now cried out against the evils resulting from the operation of the regulations, denouncing especially the prevailing tendency of crowding immature pupils into the grammar schools: "In practice it had been found that, in the anxiety of trustees and masters of a majority of our grammar schools, to crowd children into the grammar schools, in the fallacious hope thereby to increase the grant to their schools, they had virtually merged the grammar into the common school, with the nominal addition in most cases of only a little Latin and Greek."[1]

Most often, then, the study of the classics was only "nominal." Inspector Young characterized it as "a show of classical study where reality is wanting,"[2] and protested vigorously "against the practice of obliging multitudes of boys and girls to learn Latin, who, as far as any special benefit which they are to derive from that language is concerned, might as well be set to learn Chinese." He did not underrate the value of classical learning, but he regarded it as unsuited to "multitudes of children who have no object in prosecuting a classical course of study and whose circumstances and views in life render it perfectly certain that they will never become classical scholars in any proper sense of the expression."[3] The most harrowing thing about it all, in the opinion of the inspector, was the fact that so many of the classical pupils were girls!

Young urged a change in the secondary school system. He called for a new type of school to replace the traditional grammar school, one truly adapted to the needs of the times and the people. The blind worship of the classics

[1]See Annual Report for 1870, p. 64.
[2]See Inspector's report for 1867 in Annual Report for that year, p. 43.
[3]See Annual Report for 1867, p. 50.

was to make way for the study of what he regarded as the most essential branches, the English language and literature and physical science, as well as history, mathematics, and French. The classics were to be reserved for those who contemplated pursuing the study beyond the limits of the secondary school so as to acquire some familiarity with Latin or Greek literature. The bulk of the grammar school pupils were to follow a non-classical curriculum. For the realization of these newer aims in secondary education Young advocated the establishment of "English High Schools" into which no pupils were to be admitted who had not first obtained a thorough elementary education.

Ryerson, late doughty champion of the classics, now joined in the crusade against compulsory Greek or Latin. To remedy the defects of the Act in force he drafted a new school bill in 1868, in which he incorporated some of the most important reforms proposed by Young, including the abolition of compulsory Latin and the giving of adequate attention to the "higher branches of an English education." The designation of the grammar schools, too, as suggested by Young, was to be changed to "high schools."[1] The purpose of these schools was set forth in the proposed bill in the following terms:

> The grammar schools shall be designated and known as high schools, in which provision shall be made for teaching the higher branches of an English education, and the Latin and Greek languages, to those pupils whose parents, or guardians, may desire it, according to a programme of studies and regulations which shall be prescribed from time to time by the Council of Public Instruction, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.[2]

[1]Young refers to the name "English High Schools" as "a designation which I borrow from the United States, although unfortunately I have only a very vague idea of what the high schools in the United States are."

[2]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XX, p. 293.

The bill as drafted by Ryerson made no special provision for the teaching of either commercial subjects or modern languages. This omission the Ontario Teachers' Association criticized, contending that "there is an acknowledged necessity for providing, in high schools, for teaching not only the higher branches of an English, but of a commercial education, as well as for teaching such of the modern languages as the Council of Public Instruction may determine." Accordingly they proposed that the clause defining the purpose of the high schools should be amended to read:

> The grammar schools shall be designated and known as high schools, in which provision shall be made for teaching the higher branches of an English and commercial education and the modern languages and the Latin and Greek languages, to those pupils whose parents or guardians may desire it, etc.[1]

The bill was discussed with much animation both by the press and in the Legislature. Among those who assailed its provisions most vigorously was Edward Blake, at the time leader of the Liberal opposition in the provincial House. He was apprehensive of the neglect of the classics, which the new Act would occasion. Though alive to the advantages of the study of modern languages and science, he was, however, resolved to oppose what he termed the "blotting out of the classics" and the severance of the grammar schools from the university. Discussing the course of study as proposed in the bill, he said:

> I now turn to that portion of the bill which refers to the subjects of instruction in the grammar schools. I am a thorough advocate of the modern doctrine of superior education. I am strongly impressed with the conviction that we ought to devote a great deal of attention to the

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXII, p. 26.

> modern languages, and to those various departments of learning which, in this busy, bustling age, have assumed such immense importance in the world. Mechanics, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and kindred subjects, have assumed a practical importance which fifty years ago was not dreamed of. But I am by no means an advocate for blotting out the classics. I do not believe that the learning of the classics is any more essential to a certain degree of success in what are called the learned professions than it is to the production of what may be called a really educated class of men in the country. While I strongly advocate the encouragement of the study of these other branches, I believe that the study of the classics ought not to be discouraged. Well, what is proposed to be done? It is proposed, in effect, to dissociate the grammar schools from the university. . . . At present the grammar schools, according to the act of Parliament, must use such a curriculum as will fit students for matriculation at the university, and are, in fact, nurseries to that crown and glory of our educational institutions. If the university is not doing its duty, if it is not fully up to the requirements of the times, if its course of instruction is not sufficiently large, it is under the control of the House, and we can make it do its duty, without disturbing the order and harmony of our educational system. The tendency of the present proposal is to sever the grammar schools from the university, and make them no longer the means by which the flower of our youth reach the university.[1]

Despite the opposition from many quarters the bill, with only slight emendations, was finally passed in 1871.

The Act of 1871 marked an era in the educational history of Ontario. It changed the complexion of both elementary and secondary schools. The elementary schools, which were now to be designated as "public" schools, were made free, and education became compulsory on all children of school age. In respect of secondary education one of the objects of the new school

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXII, p. 233.

law was to differentiate it more sharply than had been done hitherto from elementary education, first, by excluding immature pupils from the high schools, and secondly, by checking the tendency to form union schools. To attain the first object no pupils were now to be admitted into the high schools until they should have acquired such proficiency in the public school subjects as to enable them to pass an entrance examination specified by the Act; and to discourage secondary schools from seeking amalgamation with elementary schools for the purpose of securing support from local assessment, to which the latter alone had been entitled, the Act stipulated that the high schools were to be provided for by local rate on a par with the public schools.

The Act of 1871 has a special bearing on the history of modern language instruction in the province, inasmuch as in this Act modern languages were for the first time specified as secondary school studies and inasmuch as it contained, as was shown in a previous chapter, the first official authorization of the study of German. In the earlier acts Latin and Greek alone of the foreign languages had been specifically mentioned; French had been prescribed only in the programme issued by the Council of Public Instruction, and the study of German had not received official sanction of any kind.

Ryerson's original draft of the school bill, it will be remembered, in defining the scope of the high school course, had singled out only the higher English branches and the optional study of the classics, but was silent about modern languages. Due, no doubt, to the insistence of such bodies as the Ontario Teachers' Association, the influence of educational practices in other countries, and the increasing recognition of the value of the study of modern languages, a concession was made

in the Act to French and German. The concession was, however, in a sense, a grudging one, in that the Council of Public Instruction was empowered to exempt any high schools from teaching French and German if unable, for pecuniary reasons, to engage special teachers for these languages. The Act set forth the high school course of study in the following terms:

> The grammar schools shall be designated and known as high schools in which provision shall be made for teaching to both male and female pupils the higher branches of an English and commercial education, including the natural sciences, with special reference to agriculture, and, also, the Latin, Greek, French and German languages, to those pupils whose parents, or guardians, may desire it, according to a programme of studies and regulations, which shall be prescribed from time to time by the Council of Public Instruction, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; and the Council of Public Instruction shall have power to exempt any high school, which shall not have sufficient funds to provide the necessary qualified teachers, from the obligation to teach the German and French languages.[1]

The typical Ontario secondary school was henceforth to be a co-educational school in which the classics, at least by statutory enactment, were to be deprived of their vested rights, and the emphasis shifted to the so-called higher English branches. Lest the study of Greek and Latin fall into decay, provision was made in the Act for a special type of boys' classical schools, to be termed "Collegiate Institutes". These were required to have a minimal daily average attendance of sixty boys in Greek or Latin and a staff of at least four masters. However, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, the study of these languages and the exclusive ad-

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXII, p. 219.

mission of male pupils as the distinguishing features of collegiate institutes had to be abandoned after a time.

The classical monopoly was being shaken. A sudden decline in the Latin enrolment was one of the immediate effects of the new Act. The pecuniary inducements having been removed, there was no further motive for herding all the little boys and girls pell-mell into the classical courses, with the result that the registration in Latin fell in two years from 90 per cent. to 48 per cent. of the total attendance. The fall was as precipitous as had been the rise five years earlier, and both were equally due to changes in the regulations. Table 12 and figure 6 reveal the extent to which the Act of 1871 affected the Latin enrolment:

TABLE 12—RISE AND FALL IN LATIN ENROLMENT BETWEEN 1864 AND 1875

Year	Enrolment		Per Cent. in Latin
	Total	in Latin	
1864	5589	2825	50.55
1865	5754	3669	63.76
1866	5179	4444	85.81
1867	5696	5171	90.78
1868	5649	4881	86.41
1869	6608	5577	84.39
1870	7351	6658	90.57
1871	7490	5059	67.54
1872	7986	3860	48.33
1873	8437	4077	48.32
1874	7871	3942	50.08
1875	8342	3864	46.32

After the passage of the school law of 1871 the Council of Public Instruction framed a new course of study for the high schools, to conform with the provisions of the Act. The new programme,[1] which became effective in 1872, defined the aim of these schools as two-fold: first, to give a good English education so as to qualify

[1]See *Journal of Education*, 1871, Vol. XXV, No. 8.

pupils for pursuits in commerce, industry, agriculture, and the public service, and secondly, "to teach the languages of Greece and Rome, of Germany and France, the mathematics", and other subjects, with an eye to preparing

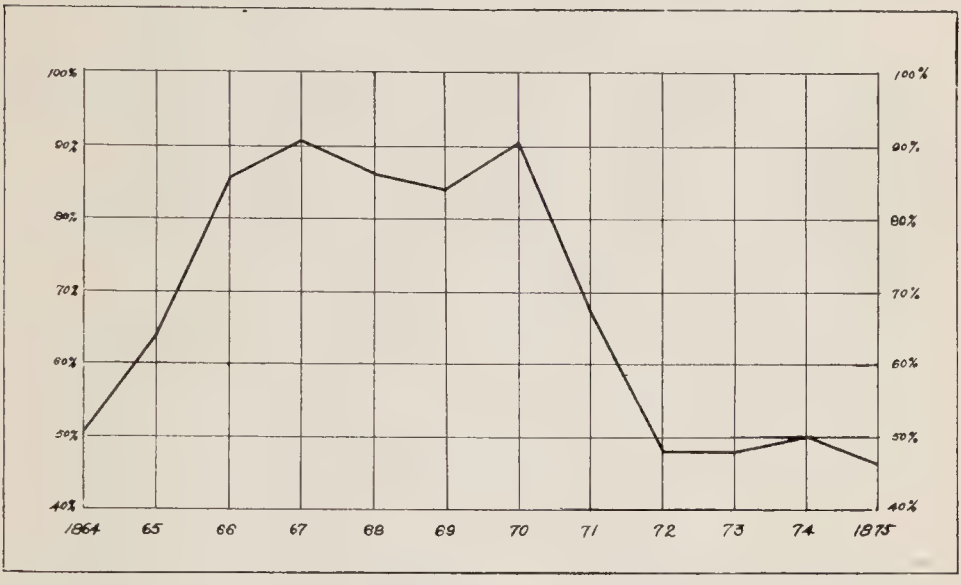

Fig. 6.—RISE AND FALL IN LATIN ENROLMENT BETWEEN 1864 AND 1875

pupils for the learned professions and for admission into the university. To correspond to this dual purpose of the high school two courses were prescribed, an "English Course" and a "Classical Course with French and German". The first course did not include the languages; the latter made the classics obligatory, but French and German only optional.

Thus it is seen that although the study of Greek or Latin had ceased to be a condition for a share in the legislative grant, these languages were not completely dethroned. They retained their position of priority over modern languages. However, by giving French and German a prominent place in the curriculum, the Act of 1871 called attention to their importance and thus led the way to their rise, five years later, to a status of

curricular equality with the languages of Greece and Rome in the Ontario high school programme.[1]

In the "Classical Course with French and German", as prescribed by the new regulations, modern languages were begun in the second instead of the third year, as hitherto. But, since the high school course was now shortened by one year—there were to be only four forms—, the duration of the course in modern languages was not affected.

Table 13 gives the French and German prescription of the "Classical Course".

TABLE 13—PROGRAMME IN FRENCH AND GERMAN IN THE "CLASSICAL COURSE"[2]

Subject	First Form	Second Form	Third Form	Fourth Form
FRENCH	.....	Pujol, part I; or De Fivas' Grammar with Exercises.	Pujol, part II, with selections from part IV or De Fivas' Grammar and Exercises, with Collot's Conversations and De Fivas' Elementary Reader.	Pujol, part III, with selections from part IV, or De Fivas' Grammar and Exercises, with Conversations; Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*, chapters VI, VII, VIII; Corneille, *Horace*, Acts I, II.
GERMAN	.....	Grammar (Ahn).	Grammar (Ahn) Adler's Reader.	Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea*, canto II.

It will be seen that the first year of the French course was to be devoted entirely to learning the rudiments of grammar. Two text-books were authorized for this subject—De Fivas' and Pujol's. The earliest prescribed French course, that of 1854, had, it will be recalled, given the schools wide latitude in the choice of grammars, permitting them to select any one of four text-books.

[1]See Chapter X.

[2]See *Journal of Education*, 1871, Vol. XXV, No. 8, pp. 123 and 124.

But in practice, as has been shown, there were even more grammars in use, for teachers seem to have been governed largely by their personal preferences and frequently ignored the list authorized by the Council of Public Instruction. The revised programme of studies of 1865 had disallowed the use of more than one grammar and required that De Fivas' book supersede all others, thus introducing for the first time, as regards French, a principle that became of general application in Ontario in later years, the principle of *one course, one book*. Some teachers, nevertheless, did not consider themselves unduly hampered by the official restrictions of 1865 and continued to use the books of their choice. We find, for example, Ollendorff's as well as Fasquelle's grammars, books that were not authorized at the time, in use in a number of schools. There was, however, evidence of increasing respect for the official regulations as regards text-books, especially as these coincided with those required for matriculation examinations.

With reference to the text-books in French grammar the 1871 programme was, in a sense, then a compromise between the two earlier courses of study.[1] There was neither that rigidity that characterized the programme of 1865 nor the well-nigh full liberty in the selection of books that had been allowed a decade earlier. A choice of two grammars was now permitted—De Fivas' *Grammaire des Grammaires* (first authorized, as we have seen, in 1865)

[1]In 1874 Ryerson submitted to the Council of Public Instruction the following resolution on text-books: "That, as in the high schools and collegiate institutes the greater part of the books used in teaching the classics of ancient and foreign modern languages, and the higher subjects of English education are not published in this country, but must be imported from abroad, option as to the text-books may be allowed to a considerable extent, without materially interfering with the efficiency of the schools, or causing great additional expense to parents." See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 171.

and Pujol's *Complete French Class-Book*. Both these grammars marked a substantial advance, in respect of methodology, over the earlier authorized grammars.

The programme of studies of 1871, unlike the programme issued six years before, made specific mention of oral French. This was to be begun in the third form, that is, the second year of the French course, with Collot's *Conversations* as the text-book and in the following year part III of Pujol's book was to form the basis for *viva voce* French. In practice, however, it appears that the requirements respecting oral work were rarely carried into effect.

The new programme increased the amount of French reading matter and prescribed better graded material. Instead of the pupil being plunged, as soon as he had acquired some knowledge of the grammar, directly into French classics, such as Fénelon's *Dialogues des Morts* or Voltaire's *Charles XII*, as had been done before, he was now to be introduced to the classical authors only after some preliminary practice in reading easier matter. This consisted of selections in Pujol's book (part IV) or De Fivas' *Elementary Reader*, which were to be begun in the third form and continued in the following year. The French classics—Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (chapters VI to VIII inclusive), and Corneille, *Horace* (acts I and II)—were relegated entirely to the last year.

All in all the French course of 1871 represented a decided advance over the programme previously prescribed. It was planned judiciously and in accordance with the best practices of the time. To resume, the first year of the course was to be spent in learning the essentials of French grammar. This study was to be continued also in the second year, when a course in reading and oral work was to be begun. These were to be carried along

in the final year, but the chief stress was now to be laid on the prescribed French classics, the professed goal of the course.

The admission of German into the Ontario high school curriculum was, as regards the present inquiry, one of the most noteworthy innovations of the Act of 1871. The humble beginnings of this subject were noted in a preceding chapter, in which it was also shown that in the first year of its authorization German was taught in only 16 out of the 102 high schools in the province and that there were only 232 pupils, or three per cent. of the total attendance, enrolled in this language. Table 14 gives the schools in which German was taught between 1871 and 1875 with the number of pupils registered in the subject in each school.

TABLE 14—SCHOOLS TEACHING GERMAN BETWEEN 1871 AND 1875, WITH THEIR ENROLMENTS IN THE SUBJECT[1]

	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
Aylmer				6	
Beamsville	3	2	2	1	12
Berlin (Kitchener)	24	21	11	15	24
Brantford		8	7	6	16
Brighton				1	
Brockville				3	3
Caledonia		4	4		
Campbellford					6
Clinton	10	14	8	8	16
Cobourg	4	11	8	14	13
Collingwood			8	9	7
Dunnville		4	8	9	4
Elora		11	13	7	7
Fergus				1	
Fonthill	5	2	3	2	3
Galt	51	65	70	75	57
Grimsby	10	3			

[1]Compiled from the Superintendent's Annual Reports.

TABLE 14—*Continued.*

Guelph	24	30	26	22	11
Hamilton	20	30		64	120
Ingersoll		8	6	8	5
Kingston		11	9		
Lindsay	4				
London	61	28	22	14	8
Markham		1			
Mount Pleasant			9	1	
Newcastle		3			
Oakville	5	5	3	13	6
Oakwood	2	2	1	1	1
Ottawa		8	14	16	21
Owen Sound		6	8	13	14
Peterborough		9	26	34	15
Picton			12	6	
Port Hope	6		1		
Port Rowan	1				
St. Catharines		5		15	30
St. Mary's					7
Streetsville			8		
Toronto		45	61	70	57
Uxbridge			7	3	
Vienna		1			
Wardsville					2
Welland					5
Weston					13
Whitby					14
Windsor					12
Woodstock	2				
Total	232	341	372	462	509

This summary reveals some interesting facts regarding the early teaching of German in the high schools of Ontario. It is seen that there were only ten schools in which the language was taught uninterruptedly for five years after its official admission into the curriculum, *viz.*, the schools of Beamsville, Berlin, Clinton, Cobourg, Fonthill, Galt, Guelph, London, Oakville, and Oakwood. In a number of schools the subject was introduced only to be dropped again after a trial of a year or two. This was, no doubt, in part due to the dearth of teachers of

German. During the five years under review, moreover, the enrolment in German in the several schools did not manifest any consistent tendency to growth, and in a number of them even a diminution in the registration is to be noted. The most striking case is that of London, where the attendance in the language dwindled down from 61 in 1871 to only 8 in 1875. In Guelph the decline was from 24 to 11, and in Galt there was an initial increase followed by a decline. The school in Toronto manifested a similar tendency. In practically all the high schools the enrolment in German was small, and in several cases there were only one or two pupils pursuing the study.

The table shows, nevertheless, a gradual rise in the German registration, in consequence of the increase in the number of schools giving instruction in the subject. It is seen that in the five years beginning with 1871 German was taught in 16, 26, 26, 28, and 29 high schools respectively, and that the enrolment in the subject for these years was 232, 341, 372, 462, and 509. When compared with the entire attendance, the German registration is found to have grown in four years from three per cent. to six per cent. of the total. The following is a condensed summary of the larger table.

TABLE 15—Number of Schools Teaching German Between 1871 and 1875, Number of Pupils Enrolled in the Subject, etc.

Year	Number of Schools		Per Cent. Teaching German	Enrolment		Per Cent. in German
	Total	Teaching German		Total	in German	
1871	102	16	15.68	7490	232	3.10
1872	104	26	25.00	7986	341	4.27
1873	108	26	24.08	8437	372	4.41
1874	108	28	25.92	7871	462	5.87
1875	103	29	28.15	8342	509	6.10

The general plan of the German course prescribed in

1871 was, in the main, the same as for French (see table 13). The pupil began with the study of German grammar, for which Ahn's manual was the prescribed text-book. He was next introduced to Adler's *German Reader*, and the course culminated with the study of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* (canto II). In the German course no alternative textbooks were authorized, nor was oral practice in the language specifically prescribed.

By 1871 French was being taught in all but four of the high schools in the province. The quality of the instruction was, however, of an inferior nature in many of the institutions. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that in the great majority of schools only one master was employed, who was required to teach single-handed all the manifold subjects in the programme of studies. Although by 1872 by far the greater number of high schools were staffed by two teachers, and in a few cases by more, one-master schools still constituted a serious problem.

In order to give effect to the new enlarged programme, the Council of Public Instruction now ordered that assistant masters be engaged in all the schools, contending that one man could not adequately teach all the subjects in the new high school course. The qualifications demanded of assistants were that they either hold public school teachers' certificates or be undergraduates of universities. Ryerson was, however, thwarted in his attempt to enforce the regulation respecting the employment of two teachers. The trustees of some high schools were opposed to the new requirement on the ground of the added expense involved, and they were heartened in their opposition by the Cabinet, which readily annulled the regulation objected to. The attorney-general ruled

that since French and German were not by law obligatory subjects in schools "where there are not sufficient funds to provide teachers" for these languages, "a high school board may be able to establish that one teacher can, with respect to a particular school, adequately fulfil the requirements"[1] of the new curriculum.

But even two teachers were not always equal to the task of teaching the whole range of subjects in the complex programme of 1871, and consequently French and German were taught badly in many schools, especially as regards pronunciation. Reporting[2] on a class in French in one of the largest schools in the province at this period, the grammar school inspector is at no pains to conceal his unspeakable vexation over the exhibition of French pronunciation by that class. He describes "the pronunciation with one or two exceptions" as "simply harrowing", and of the work in French in another school he says, "Performance outrageously bad".

The following excerpts from the inspectors' reports describe the teaching of modern languages when at its worst during this period. Each excerpt refers to a different school:

> "Translated quite well, but could scarcely pronounce a word of French. Had been taught to translate without *reading* the French. . . . Not having been taught pronunciation they gave answers that would have set 'Mons. Pernet'[3] mad, *e.g.*, What is *du* a contraction of? Answer, *dee*, *lee*, etc.
>
> "The pronunciation was outrageous."
>
> ". . . the pronunciation generally was miserable."

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 80.

[2] The quotations that follow are from the inspectors' confidential reports. In the case of adverse comments it was thought advisable to omit the names of the schools and teachers concerned.

[3] Emile Pernet, at the time lecturer in French in University College.

"Did well; except pronunciation which was very bad."

"Mr. O. (teacher) makes no pretensions; he has but imperfect knowledge of the language (French) and takes it because no better arrangement for the present can be made."

"The class knew nothing of the subject (French)."

"Pupils quite deficient in accent. Grammar also extremely defective. Translation only tolerably good."

"Performance outrageously bad."

"He (teacher) allowed *Il le pour toi fera* to pass unnoticed and even repeated it. . . . I should say that Mr. H.'s French was doubtful."

Such then was the dark side of the picture. There were, however, on the other hand, a number of high schools in which French and German were taught with skill and in which the proficiency of the teachers was reflected in the high attainments of the pupils. A few of the larger schools had now special masters for modern languages, some of whom were natives.[1] In a considerable number of schools then the work in French and German was creditable, and in some cases even excellent.

A few of the modern language teachers of the period are singled out for special mention in the inspectoral reports of the time because of the effectiveness of their work. Their style of teaching modern languages is declared to be of an exceptionally high order. Of these outstanding modern language masters S. A. Marling, who before his appointment as high school inspector in 1872 had been principal of the Chatham High School, is said to have been one of the most efficient and most

[1]Of one of these native teachers the inspector complains that "his pronunciation of English is horrible", and adds, "Neither his French nor his German pronunciation likewise is above criticism. He says *isht* for *ist*, gives the *w* the w sound in many words and calls *être*, *êtur*." In the case of another native teacher the complaint is that although the "Rev. Mr. T., the German teacher, knows German", he "does not know the best mode of conveying his information to others."

successful.[1] Another teacher, W. Reiner[2] of the London High School, is commended for his method—obviously considered unique at the time in Ontario—of teaching colloquial French and German. He evidently foreshadowed what was later widely accepted as a standard device in modern language instruction. The inspector describes and comments on Mr. Reiner's method as follows: "His plan of basing questions in German and French on the text, which will necessitate answers almost in the words of the text, seems to me admirably calculated to introduce young people to a knowledge of colloquial French and German." A number of other teachers of modern languages received very favourable mention in the confidential reports of the inspectors of the period.

The French registration, as a whole, increased only slightly during the years under discussion and, as compared with the preceding period, made no gains whatever in proportion to the entire attendance. During the four years beginning with 1872 and ending in 1875 the average enrolment in French per year was 2,785 or 34.12% of the total.[3] Inspector McLellan ascribed the slow increase in the number of pupils learning French to the absence of this study from the "English Course" (see page 149). He counselled that French be made part of this course and that in the "Classical Course" an option be permitted

[1]". . . I suspect it will be found", Inspector MacKenzie wrote, "that the palmy days of French in the Chatham High School terminated with the departure of Mr. Marling, whose management of the French language—including purity of accent—was distinguished by excellent taste and judgment and marked success."

[2]"W. Reiner", is evidently the same person as "Mr. William Reiner" who is mentioned in an earlier report, when he was on the staff of the Grimsby High School as teacher of mathematics, French and German. The inspector then said of him: ". . . Mr. Reiner, who is an excellent teacher of French and (as I am told) of German also, is not equally at home in euclid. Mr. R. has been much in France and teaches the language extremely well."

[3]The corresponding figures for Latin were 3,936 and 48.26%.

between this subject and Greek. His recommendation was, however, not acted upon.

The French and German programmes of 1871 remained in force without any modification until 1876. The important changes that were wrought in the modern language curriculum that year, simultaneously with the complete reorganization of the high school course, will be discussed in the chapter that follows.

Chapter X

The Intermediate Examination and the New Status of Modern Languages (1876-1882)

The year 1876 ushered in momentous changes in the school system of Ontario, changes which affected both the mode of central control of education and the organization and curriculum of the high schools.

On the administrative side these innovations were consequent on the retirement of Egerton Ryerson, who, after serving during the closing years of his tenure of office under an unsympathetic government and being repeatedly subjected to petty embarrassments and indignities, relinquished in 1876 his duties as chief superintendent of education, thus breaking off a thirty-two year connection with the educational system of which he was the founder. The office of chief superintendent was now abolished and his duties transferred to a responsible minister, to be known as the Minister of Education. The Council of Public Instruction likewise passed out of existence, its functions henceforth devolving upon the Executive Council.

Simultaneously with these administrative changes a reorganization of the high school course was effected by

putting into operation the principle of "Payment by Results"[1] which had been sanctioned by the school law of 1871. This law had specified that the apportionment of the high school grant was to be made to each school on the basis of "the average attendance of pupils, *proficiency in the various branches of study*, and the length of time each high school is kept open."

Not until 1876, however, had a satisfactory formula been devised for the application of the principle of making the grant to each high school dependent, in part, on the attainments of its pupils.[2] The system of payment by results was designed as a remedial measure for many of the ills that were besetting the high schools, and was intended especially to raise the level of scholarship in the schools.

For the purpose of putting into effect the new principle the high school course was now divided into two parts, of two years' duration each, designated respectively as "Lower School" and "Upper School". At the end of the lower school, or at a point midway between the beginning and the end of the high school course, the pupils of each school were required to submit to an examination, known as the "Intermediate Examination", the result of which determined each school's share of that portion of the grant which was to be distributed in accordance with the proficiency of the pupils. The grant was to be apportioned on the basis of the number of pupils who passed the intermediate examination. This examination was to be uniform for the whole province; the papers were to be set and the answers read and evaluated by a central

[1]The scheme was borrowed from England, where it was introduced in 1862 and affected only the elementary schools.

[2]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 172*ff.*; Vol. XXVII, pp. 216*ff.*; and Vol. XXVIII, pp. 102*ff.*

committee. The standard of the examination was intended to be equivalent to the second class teachers' examination.

The intermediate examination now became the pivotal point of the high school course. Everything was now subordinated to the ends of this examination, everything converged in it; for upon the success of the candidates in the "intermediate" depended not only the good name of their school but also the amount of its grant, and in some cases, its very existence. The intermediate examination gave rise to a novel type of stimulus, whose effects on secondary education proved lasting.

Meanwhile a revised programme of studies was issued, prescribing the subjects for the new examination. This programme represented in many essential respects a radical departure from previous regulations affecting the curriculum. The plan of prescribing minutely the studies to be taken up in each of the four forms was now given up. Instead of this only the subjects and the amount in each to be done in either of the two divisions of the high school, the lower school and the upper school, were indicated, and it was left to the discretion of the local authorities to arrange the course of each division in a manner that was best suited to the needs of the community.

The amended regulations of 1876 gave a new impetus to the study of modern languages by placing them on a par with the classical languages. The position of subordination accorded French and German in relation to Greek and Latin in the "Classical Course" of 1871 (no foreign languages being taught in the "English Course") no longer obtained. The distinction between the classical and English programmes having been discontinued, in the new common course that took their place modern languages were recognized as having equal rights with

the languages of antiquity. In the old course, as will be recalled, the study of Greek or Latin had been obligatory and that of modern languages optional only. The new regulations removed this inequality of curricular status by making moderns and classics alike, along with some other studies, optional subjects for both the intermediate examination and the upper school course.

There were indeed those who saw in the new regulations a menace to classical learning in the high schools, since modern languages as well as a number of other subjects could now compete with it on equal terms. It was, however, asserted by the grammar school inspectors, two years after the new scheme had been put into operation, that there were no grounds for any apprehension as to the continuity of the classical tradition in the schools. To quote the inspectors:

"We are pleased to be able to point to the statistics of the university matriculation examinations of this year (1878) as showing that these apprehensions have so far not been realized. The first intermediate examination having been held in 1876, the universities have just begun to feel the effects of the stimulus then given to secondary education. Not only has the number of matriculants greatly increased, but it is the general opinion that the knowledge of Greek and Latin displayed by them has, on the whole, been more satisfactory than ever before."[1]

It must be borne in mind that success in the intermediate examination did not directly affect the candidate's eligibility for admission into the university, for which a special matriculation examination had to be tried. Now the programme of 1876 expressly exempted

[1]Annual Report for 1877, Part III, p. 10.

candidates preparing for any matriculation examination from following the programme prescribed for the intermediate. They were to pursue only those studies that were directly preparatory for the university matriculation examination. Since of the foreign languages only Latin was obligatory for *all* the matriculation examinations, it is not surprising that given an option between classics and moderns, a large number of students selected the former. The preference for Latin was probably also frequently encouraged by headmasters, many of whom clung tenaciously to the classical traditions of the grammar schools of old, for the headmasters were empowered by the new regulations to make the decision when there was doubt regarding the optional subjects to be selected. The university requirements, then, as well as the lingering partiality for the classics in many of the schools for a time tended to counteract in a measure the impetus given by the new regulations to the study of modern languages.

Another factor, too, tended to detract in some degree from the new victory won by modern languages and to retard somewhat their onward march as a secondary school study. For although French and German had now received the fullest recognition ever accorded them up to that time, in being granted a status of equality with classics in the high schools, Greek and Latin still held the foreground in the curriculum of the collegiate institutes (see page 147 ante). Here the study of the classics still constituted the necessary condition for the continuance of these schools. They were created, as will be recalled, by the Act of 1871 as institutions especially consecrated to the pursuit of classical learning, and an indispensable stipulation for their establishment and

maintenance was a minimum of sixty boys studying Greek or Latin.[1]

Dissatisfaction was, however, now being manifested from time to time with the discrimination against modern studies that was inherent in the regulations governing the collegiate institutes. Objection was also raised against the provision which made them exclusively boys' schools. The regulations were declared to be obsolete, out of keeping with the best educational thought of the day, and the call for their repeal became increasingly insistent. The question engaged the attention of both the high school inspectors and the Ontario Teachers' Association.

Inspector S. A. Marling[2] in 1879 counselled the abolition of compulsory Latin in the collegiate institutes and the amending of the law so as to make them co-educational schools, in which the study of modern languages and science should receive equal recognition with that of Latin. "Let French and German," he wrote, "be made equivalent to Latin, with those who prefer to take a modern language. . . . Let natural science (say chemistry and botany) be held in the same rank as Latin, or as French and German. I hazard these suggestions, in the belief that they will be found in harmony with the progressive spirit of modern education, thoroughly practicable, and acceptable to the high school masters."[3] Inspector J. A. McLellan, in his report for

[1]The following note, furnished me by a teacher recently retired from the service, throws an interesting sidelight on the way in which the letter of the law was sometimes observed:

"When collegiate institutes were established it was provided that any high school aspiring to the position of a collegiate institute must have sixty boys taking Latin. As a junior teacher in a certain high school in 1879 I was put at teaching Latin roots out of a spelling book to first and second form pupils, both girls and boys, and these were reported to the Department as taking Latin."

[2]See page 158 ante.

[3]Report of the Minister of Education for 1879, pp. 102*f*.

1880, likewise advocated the abolition of Latin as a requirement for collegiate institute standing. In 1881 the minister of education took counsel with the teachers of the province by submitting the question, along with others affecting secondary education, for the consideration of the Ontario Teachers' Association. The subject was discussed by the high school section of the Association, which adopted the following resolution: "That collegiate institutes should continue to exist, but that the basis of establishment and continuance should be broadened by including girls as well as boys, and by recognizing other studies as well as Latin and Greek."[1]

The Greek and Latin basis was no longer tenable. The most progressive educational opinion was unanimous that there should be no "premium on the study or nominal study of Latin" which "must no longer be kept in its supreme position", that the study of Latin should be reserved for those pupils only who have a "reasonable prospect of making such attainments in it as would be of real benefit to them", and that, in short, the collegiate institutes and the high schools should follow a common curriculum in which modern languages and science should be on a parity with classics. In 1882, therefore, new regulations were issued (to take effect the following year) which repealed the old law governing the establishment of collegiate institutes and along with other things abolished the study of Greek or Latin as the basis for differentiating these institutions from high schools. By the new regulations the study of Greek and Latin was deprived of its prior rights, it was shorn of its old glory, and thus the last citadel of the classics in the secondary schools of Ontario was dismantled and razed. The

[1]Report of the Minister of Education for 1880-1881, p. 127.

ancient and the modern languages were now to be of equal worth in the secondary schools of the province.

The University of Toronto, however, continued to set a higher value on classics, as was demonstrated not only by the greater prominence given to them than to moderns in the university curriculum but also by the requirements prescribed for the pass junior matriculation examination.

These requirements as laid down by the University of Toronto in 1876[1] gave but a feeble incentive to the study of modern languages; since for this examination French and German were purely voluntary, the obligatory subjects being classics, mathematics, English, history and geography. A candidate was, however, given the option of substituting French *and* German for Greek, provided he was proceeding to an honour course other than in classics.

The pre-eminent position held in the University by classics and mathematics is further illustrated by the way in which the comparative standing of candidates competing for scholarships for general proficiency was determined. The scholarship was to be awarded to the student obtaining the highest aggregate number of marks in all the subjects. These subjects were, however, not to be regarded as of equal importance. A numerical value was set on each subject according to the following schedule:

For Junior Matriculation:—Greek = 220, Latin = 220, mathematics = 440, English = 150, history and geography = 100, French = 100, German = 75.

For Senior Matriculation:—Classics = 500, mathematics = 500, English = 200, chemistry = 125, French = 125, German = 125.

[1]See *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 94*ff*.

In the junior matriculation examination, then, French was considered as having less than half the value of Greek or Latin, and German as being worth only about a third as much as either of the classical languages. In the senior matriculation examination the value assigned to the modern languages was only 50 per cent. of the classical values.

Nevertheless French and German were now prescribed by the University of Toronto for each of the four types of matriculation examinations, *viz.*, pass junior matriculation, honour junior matriculation, pass senior matriculation, and honour senior matriculation. For the pass junior matriculation, to be sure, modern languages were voluntary, though they might be taken, as we have seen, by certain candidates as an option for Greek. For the remaining three examinations, however, French and German were obligatory. The subjects of the matriculation examinations in these languages, prescribed by the University of Toronto for 1877, are given in Table 16.

TABLE 16—SUBJECTS OF MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS IN FRENCH AND GERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, 1877

Pass Junior Matriculation (optional)—

FRENCH:—Grammar paper; easy French prose; Corneille, *Horace*, acts I and II.

GERMAN:—Grammar paper; Musäus, *Stumme Liebe;* Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke.*

Honour Junior Matriculation—

FRENCH:—Corneille, *Horace*, acts III, IV, and V; Dumas, *La Tulipe Noire;* translation from easy authors not specified.

GERMAN:—Schiller, *Der Neffe als Onkel.*

Pass Senior Matriculation—

French:—Grammar paper; De Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, première partie; easy translation into French prose.

German:—Grammar paper; Fouqué, *Aslaugas Ritter;* outlines of German literature, 1300-1670.

Honour Senior Matriculation—

French:—Molière, *L'Avare, Les Fourberies de Scapin;* Montalembert, *De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre;* translation from authors not specified.

German:—Schiller, *Wallensteins Lager;* Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl;* easy translation into German.

The programme of studies in French and German issued in 1876 for students in the upper school (*i.e.*, the third and fourth years of the high school) was prescribed with a view to the matriculation requirements set by the University of Toronto, to become effective in 1877. The upper school curriculum in modern languages appears amazingly heavy. It is quite manifest, however, that no student was expected to take the whole course, but rather to select from it those subjects that were required for the particular matriculation examination for which he was presenting himself. Table 17 gives the French and German programmes of the upper school course, issued in 1876.

Table 17—Upper School Programme in French and German, 1876[1]

French:—Grammar and exercises; Corneille, *Horace*; Dumas, *La Tulipe Noire;* De Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, première partie; Molière, *L'Avare* and *Les Fourberies de Scapin;* Montalembert, *De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre;* trans-

[1]See Annual Report for 1876, p. 157.

lation from English into French; conversation, etc., as far as is required for senior matriculation with honours.

GERMAN:—Grammar and exercises; Musäus, *Stumme Liebe;* Schiller, *das Lied von der Glocke, Der Neffe als Onkel,* and *Wallensteins Lager;* Fouqué, *Aslaugas Ritter;* Chamisso, *Peter Schemihl;* outlines of German literature, 1300-1670.

The French and German curricula of the lower school (comprising the first two years of the high school) provided an introductory course in these languages. The French programme did not differ appreciably from that prescribed for the elementary work in this language in 1871, and in German the only important innovation was the addition of "rudiments of conversation". The lower school programme of 1876 aimed to acquaint the pupils with the elements of French and German grammar, to give them some facility in translating English into the foreign tongue as well as some practice in reading French and German, and lastly they prescribed a modicum of conversation in these languages. The French and German courses paralleled each other very closely.

TABLE 18—LOWER SCHOOL PROGRAMME IN FRENCH AND GERMAN, 1876[1]

FRENCH:—The accidence and the principal rules of syntax; exercises; introductory and advanced French reader; retranslation of easy passages into French; rudiments of conversation.

GERMAN:—The accidence and principal rules of syntax; exercises; Adler's *German Reader,* first, second,

[1]See Annual Report for 1876, p. 156.

and third parts; retranslation of easy passages into German; rudiments of conversation.

French and German, as has been noted, were now on a par in the high school curriculum with their rival languages Greek and Latin. But all foreign languages had ceased to be compulsory subjects. The lower school programme made obligatory only the study of English, mathematics, history and geography, allowing an option between Latin, French, German, and a group of subjects consisting of physics, chemistry, and bookkeeping. In the upper school the prescribed subjects of study were English, mathematics, history, and any two of French, German, Latin, Greek, and physical science.

Meanwhile some modifications were introduced in the French and German high school programmes. The upper school courses were considerably simplified by reducing the prescribed authors to two for each language, and the French lower school course was somewhat amplified by the addition of an author. The changes effected by the revised course of studies are noted in tables 19 and 20.

Table 19—High School Programmes in French and German, 1877[1]

LOWER SCHOOL

French:—The accidence and principal rules of syntax; exercises; De Fivas' *Introductory French Reader;* Voltaire, *Charles XII* (to be discontinued after 1877) or Souvestre, *Un Philosophe sous les Toits;* retranslation of easy passages into French; rudiments of conversation.

German:—The same as in 1876.

[1]See Annual Report for 1877, Part III, pp. 148 and 149.

UPPER SCHOOL

FRENCH:—Grammar and exercises; Souvestre, *Un Philosophe sous les Toits;* Corneille, *Horace;* translation from English into French; conversation; the other subjects required for senior matriculation with honours.[1]

GERMAN:—Grammar and exercises; Musäus, *Stumme Liebe*; Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft*, *Der Taucher*, and *Der Neffe als Onkel;*[2] translation from English into German; conversation; the other subjects required for senior matriculation with honours.

TABLE 20.—AUTHORIZED FRENCH AND GERMAN TEXT-BOOKS OTHER THAN AUTHORS, 1877[3]

FRENCH

Grammars	Readers	Composition	Conversation	Dictionaries
De Fivas, *Grammaire des Grammaires;* Haas, *Introduction to the French Language.*	De Fivas, *Elementary French Reader;* Hachette's *First French Reader*	Contanseau, *Guide to French Translation.*	Collot, *Conversations;* Hachette's *French Dialogues.*	Surenne, *French Dictionary;* Contanseau, *Practical Dictionary.*

GERMAN

Ahn, *German Grammar.*
Otto, *German Conversation-Grammar.*
Adler, *Progressive German Reader.*
Hachette's *German Dialogues.*

As regards the authors prescribed in the programmes of 1876 and 1877 an important new tendency is discernible, namely, the admission of modern writers such as Dumas and Montalembert. The first modern French text to be prescribed for the intermediate examination (as also

[1]The authors prescribed for 1879 were Corneille, *Horace*, and La Fontaine, *Fables.*

[2]In the prescription for 1879 *Der Neffe als Onkel* was omitted.

[3]Annual Report for 1877, Part III, p. 140.

for the junior matriculation examination set by the University of Toronto) was Souvestre's *Un Philosophe sous les Toits*, a work which subsequently enjoyed great vogue in the high schools.[1] We have here then an important innovation in the modern language curriculum, an innovation that marks a parting of the ways in language teaching between ancient and modern languages and the earliest concession to a principle, later universally accepted, that the learner's first approach to French and German literature must be through contemporary writings and that the study of a modern language must draw its inspiration from the present day life of the people whose language is being learned.

What were the fortunes of German in the high schools of Ontario during the period under review? German occupied in the modern language course a position analogous to that of Greek in the classical programme. Each was a second language. In both programmes the attention was centred mainly in French and Latin respectively. These languages attracted by far larger numbers of pupils than German and Greek.

The respective enrolments in the latter languages at the beginning of the period were 362 and 905. That is, there were two and a half times as many pupils studying Greek as there were studying German. The enrolment in Greek did not, however, long maintain this lead. The German registration was constantly gaining on it, practically overtook it in 1881 and outstripped it the following year. There is an inverse relation observable in the enrolments in these two languages: there is a constant though slow rise in the German attendance and as

[1]It was prescribed as a text for the junior matriculation examination every alternate year from 1878 to 1890 and was on the curriculum as recently as 1924.

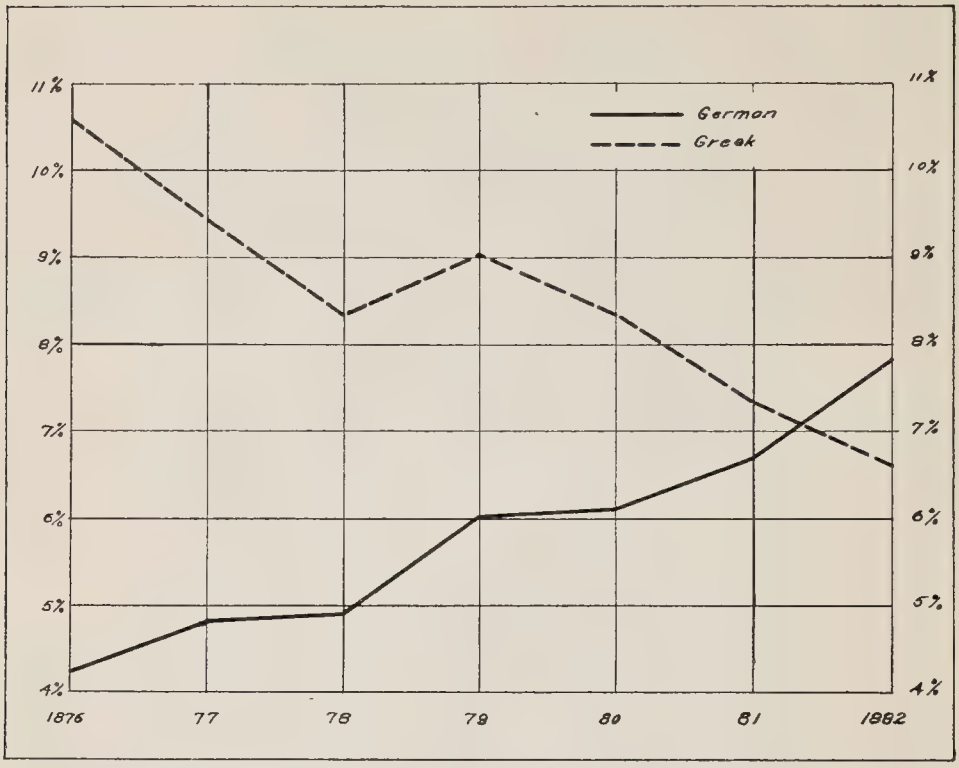

Fig. 7.—RISE AND FALL IN GERMAN AND GREEK ENROLMENT RESPECTIVELY BETWEEN 1876 AND 1882

constant a decline in the Greek (see Fig. 7). Evidently an increasing number of pupils were now forsaking or avoiding the Greek classes and joining the German. In this they were encouraged, as we have seen, by the

TABLE 21.—GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS TEACHING GERMAN BETWEEN 1876 AND 1882

Year	Number of High Schools		Per cent. Teaching German
	Total	Teaching German	
1876	104	27	25.96
1877	104	29	27.88
1878	104	44	42.30
1879	104	48	46.15
1880	104	54	51.92
1881	104	51	49.04
1882	104	56	53.85

revised regulations of the University of Toronto which permitted certain classes of junior matriculation candidates to substitute French and German for Greek. A similar privilege was also given by the Law Society to candidates seeking admission as students-at-law.[1]

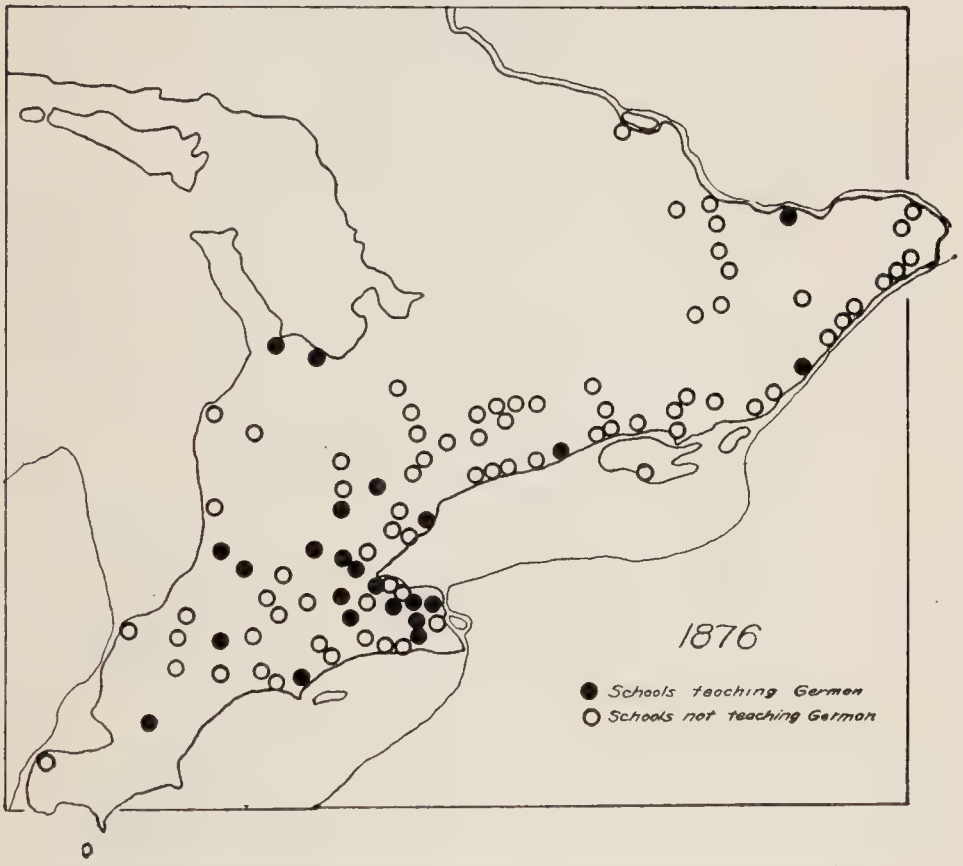

Fig. 8.—DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS TEACHING GERMAN IN 1876

Nevertheless the number of students learning German was augmented only slowly, though the opportunities for this study in the high schools of the province were becoming increasingly plentiful (see table 21 and figures 8 and 9). In 1876 the language was taught in only twenty-seven high schools, or in 26 per cent. of the schools in

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 111*f*.

operation. Six years later the number of high schools giving courses in German had increased to fifty-six, that is 54 per cent. of all the schools. Thus, whereas the number of schools teaching German had grown from 26 per cent. of the total to 54 per cent., the corresponding rise in the German registration in relation to total

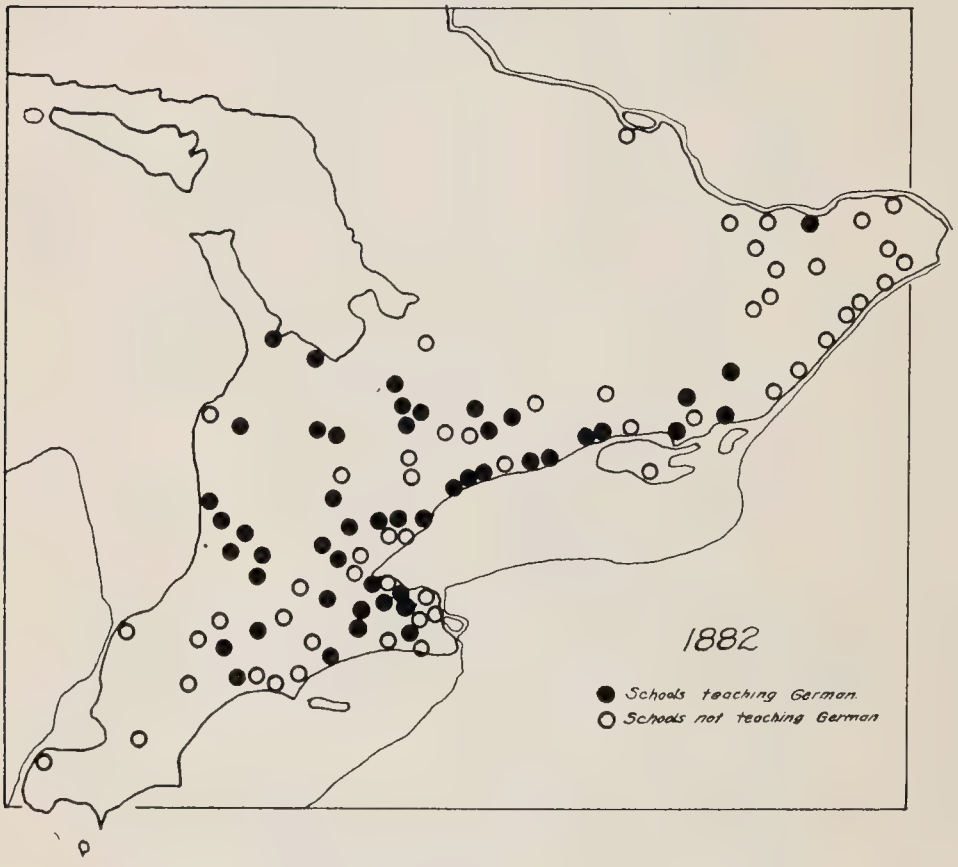

Fig. 9.—DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS TEACHING GERMAN IN 1882

attendance was only from about 4 per cent. to nearly 8 per cent. The absolute increase in the German enrolment was, however, considerable, namely, from 362 in 1876 to 962 in 1882, representing an increase of 165 per cent. Nevertheless, the number of students availing themselves of the opportunities for the study of German continued to be small as compared with those pursuing

the other subjects of the curriculum. Table 22 shows the slow rate of growth of the German enrolment.

TABLE 22.—HIGH SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN GERMAN FROM 1876 TO 1882

Year	Number of Pupils		Per cent. in German
	Total	In German	
1876	8,541	362	4.24
1877	9,229	442	4.79
1878	10,574	516	4.88
1879	12,136	729	6.01
1880	12,910	859	6.65
1881	13,136	877	6.68
1882	12,348	962	7.79

On the other hand, the registration in French reached during the period under discussion and especially toward the end of the period the highest point it had ever

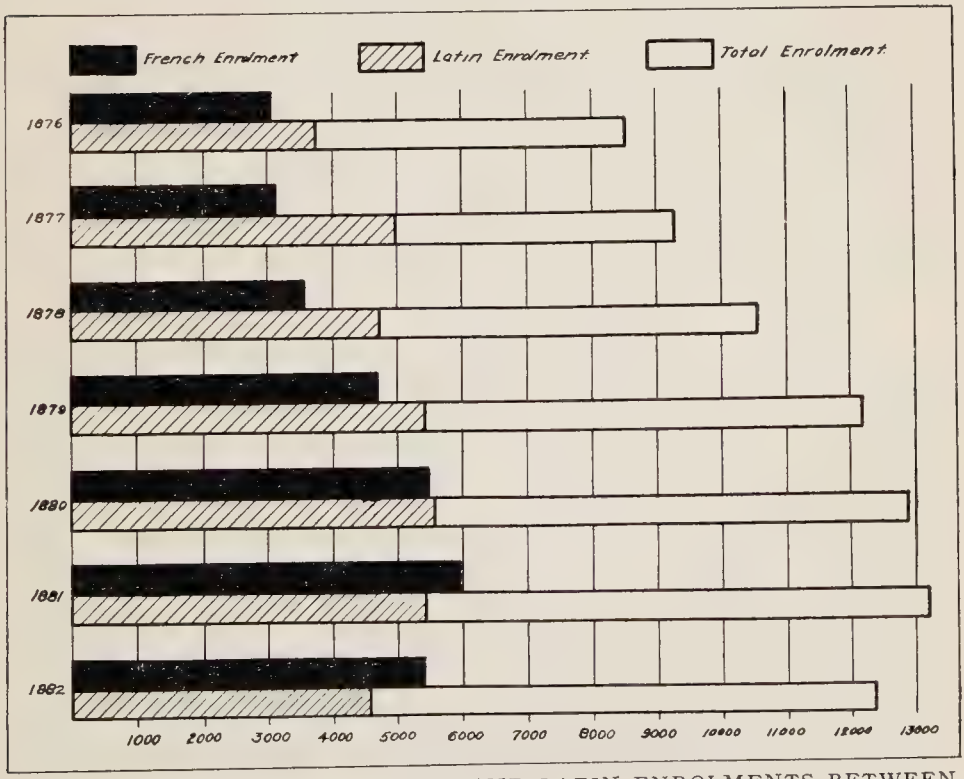

Fig. 10.—COMPARISON OF FRENCH AND LATIN ENROLMENTS BETWEEN 1876 AND 1882

attained, both as regards the absolute number of pupils pursuing this study and in comparison with the total enrolment, for there were in 1881, 5,938 pupils, or 46 per cent. of the total number in attendance, enrolled in French. Thus for the first time in the history of the Ontario high schools French gained a lead on its competing language, Latin (see table 23 and fig. 10) a lead that it retained until 1895. It is seen that the impetus given to the study of French by the new programme of studies was powerful and was being concretely manifested in the unprecedented number of students in the high schools seeking to gain some knowledge of the language.

TABLE 23.—PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS STUDYING FRENCH AND LATIN RESPECTIVELY EACH YEAR FROM 1876 TO 1882

Year	Per cent of Total Enrolment	
	In French	In Latin
1876	35.58	44.36
1877	33.49	53.68
1878	33.91	44.72
1879	38.62	44.42
1880	42.33	43.06
1881	45.96	41.03
1882	43.43	37.18

But the quality of the instruction in modern languages did not necessarily rise with the growth in the number of students learning them. Indeed, in the opinion of the inspectors of the time the methods of teaching foreign languages were such as to lead to disappointing results. The obvious aim of foreign language study, namely, to acquire the key with which to unlock the literary treasures of foreign countries, was, so the inspectors maintained, only rarely achieved. In the words of the high school inspectors of 1877:

"It must be admitted that the results obtained from the present methods of teaching Latin, Greek, French and German appear meagre, when the amount of time devoted to these subjects is taken into consideration. Only an exceedingly small percentage of those who begin any one of these languages ever become able to read it with any degree of facility."[1]

However, they find solace in the thought that although the study of languages as pursued in the schools does not usually lead to the specific direct results aimed at, there are certain "indirect benefits", by-products, as it were, of language study which, though not tangible enough to be readily measurable, are none the less real. These indirect benefits derivable from the study of languages are, according to the inspectors, increased power in the use of the vernacular, "grammatical and logical training afforded by the parsing and analysis of sentences", "the development of that capacity for seizing and appreciating distinctions which may be regarded as lying at the foundation of all knowledge", and lastly, "a certain amount of historical knowledge incidentally picked up during the study of the languages". We have here a defence of language study, frequently repeated subsequently, on the ground of the general mental discipline conferred by it, the claim that specific linguistic training will function in improving other mental capacities. The general rationale of the doctrine of formal discipline had not yet been subjected to scientific scrutiny and its main tenets had not yet been called in question.

Despite their satisfaction with the supposed incidental results of language study the inspectors, as has been noted, expressed displeasure with the achievements in the study itself. They strike a decidedly modern note when they

[1]Annual Report, 1877, Part III, p. 7.

plead for more extensive reading in the foreign languages and deprecate the over-emphasis of theoretical grammar. They write:[1]

". . . The fact still remains that the aim with which languages were first studied, namely, to acquire the ability to use them freely, is an aim which is comparatively rarely attained, and that in consequence the culture which is the fruit of a knowledge of the literature of Greece, Rome, France, or Germany, is placed within the reach of very few.[2] We are not, however, of the opinion that our high schools would be found, if compared with those of other new countries, deficient in the results of their language-teaching. Perhaps, even if compared with those of old countries, the results would not appear markedly low, the time devoted to the subject being taken into account; but we are inclined to think that the methods of instruction generally employed may be modified with advantage, and that the present system of examinations in language, and the character of the questions asked may be advantageously changed. These changes should have for their general object an increase in the quantity read and translated, and a diminution in the time spent in acquiring a knowledge of facts which are not necessary for a clear understanding of the text. . . . In fine, it seems better that a pupil should acquire a knowledge of the exceptions to the general rules in almost every case, and of some of the general rules themselves, rather in the process of translating and retranslating, than through learning by heart long lists in a grammar."

[1]Annual Report for 1877, Part III, p. 7.

[2]The year before the inspectors had complained in a similar strain: "After years of poring over grammar and lexicon, how few are there that care, after leaving school, to take up their language studies again, or who can trace an advantage derived from them at all commensurate with the time and pains bestowed!"

That a knowledge of French and German grammatical rules learnt by rote was no guarantee of ability to apply them was attested by the examiners of the intermediate examination papers: "In both French and German composition, students who show a fair theoretical knowledge of the subject are found incapable of applying the simplest rules of syntax."[1] The examiners found the attainments of the students in modern languages markedly unequal in the various schools. This was especially true of German, in which the papers were reported to be "mostly either very good or very poor."

If the measurable results of modern language teaching were frequently inadequate, those that did not admit of measurement by central examination were even more so. The intermediate examination tended, as external examinations have since tended, to focus the attention solely in those elements of language instruction that were to be subjected to a test, since the *results* in these alone determined the *payment* to the school for success achieved in the examination.

"The consequence is," Inspector Buchan wrote in 1879, "that there is a tendency to neglect these things [drawing, music, reading, etc.] and everything else which does not pay. So far has this tendency affected some masters that I have found them teaching French without attending to the pronunciation of their pupils. . . . In

[1]The extent to which theoretical grammar was emphasized will appear from the following typical questions on the subject taken from French and German matriculation papers of the time: "What is the place of the verb in a German sentence?" "Define the uses of *haben*, *sein*, and *werden* as auxiliaries. . . ." "What substantives are masculine?"—1873. "Enumerate the [French] relative pronouns." "Distinguish between *en* and *dans*, *avant* and *devant*."—1876. "What letters have more than one sound in French?" "State briefly and systematically what you know about [French] (*a*) adjectives, (*b*) past participles, (*c*) adverbs, (*d*) prepositions, (*e*) the subjunctive mood."—1880. "What are the uses of *tu* and *vous*."—1882.

short, under our present system of payment by results, we pay for only one result, and are in danger of reducing our high schools to a state in which they will produce no other."[1]

Inspector Marling wrote in a similar strain:[2] "While written examinations test much, they cannot test everything, and accordingly we find a constant tendency to neglect what does not 'tell' at such an ordeal". Thus pronunciation in the languages "holds a very secondary place in the popular estimation, there being no *viva voce* test at the examination." Nevertheless, despite its obvious shortcomings, Inspector Marling in 1879 advocated, as had also his predecessors, the continuance, with some modifications, of the system of payment by results.

But its days were now numbered, for its defects and abuses had become too glaring. The scheme had manifestly miscarried. There was a growing demand for its discontinuance, and it was borne in upon those controlling the educational destinies of the province that the intermediate examination as then conducted defeated the very ends of education. Accordingly the system of payment by results was abandoned in 1882, six years after its inception, as an educational experiment that had failed to work out.

A recent writer[3] traces to the habits formed during the period of payment by results the reverence in which written examinations have since been held in the high schools of the province. The fetish set up then was worshipped by successive generations of votaries, and to this day they come and prostrate themselves before it.

[1]Report of the Minister of Education, 1879, p. 98.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 103.
[3]Bell, *The Development of the Ontario High School*, p. 148.

"The present examination habit", he says "was acquired in the trial of 'payment by results'. The mill has been grinding ever since." The intermediate examination of 1876-1882 "created in the public mind too great a respect for the written examination. It fastened upon many schools a vicious kind of slavery, the shackles of which have not yet been thrown off."[1] And, it should be added, the baneful effects of the idolatry of external examinations have nowhere been more in evidence than in modern language teaching.

Chapter XI

The Rise of a New Ideology and the Advent of the Modern Language Specialist (1883-1904)

The account given in the present chapter covers a period of about twenty years. These are not sharply demarcated, as regards the history of modern language teaching, either from those immediately preceding or following. The boundaries of the period were perhaps somewhat arbitrarily chosen, especially so the later limit. There are, nevertheless, some tendencies discernible in these two decades that give them a certain unity and in some measure set them off from the periods before and after. The tendencies markedly in evidence during the years under review were the spread of new ideals respecting the study of French and German and the awakening of the professional consciousness of the teachers of these languages. The period here discussed begins with the abolition of the system of payment by results in the early eighties, and the story is advanced past the

[1]Bell, *The Ontario High School, Past and Future*, in the *Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association*, 1920, p. 400.

first few years of the new century, when certain important changes were introduced in the organization and curriculum of the secondary schools of Ontario.

Before pursuing the fortunes of the study of French and German in the high schools of Ontario a brief account must be given of a movement in modern language instruction, which first asserted itself cogently in Germany in the eighties and spread thereafter with increasing momentum, whose force has not yet spent itself, to many other lands.

The die was cast in 1882 with the appearance in Germany of an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!*, whose author proved to be Dr. Viëtor, Professor of English at the University of Marburg. "Seldom has a bulky folio," says Leopold Bahlsen,[1] "made so great a sensation, produced so large a literature of praise and bitter attack as this small pamphlet consisting of scarcely two score pages." Though it was by no means the first uttered protest against existing conditions in the study of modern languages in Germany, and contained little that was essentially new, its effect was stupendous. It proved a firebrand that set aflame the smouldering discontent of decades.

Viëtor's monograph was a scathing arraignment of the obsolete methods of modern language instruction that were in vogue, their lifelessness and unnaturalness. The author denounced the artificiality of the text-books with their disjointed, meaningless sentences, their all-absorbing attention to grammar, and the prominence given to translation. Summing up the results of a prolonged linguistic training in school, he says with ill-concealed contempt:

> "Lässt ihn die Schule endlich frei, so ist dem abgehetztem Schüler; die Sprache der alten Römer und Hellenen, ja das

[1] *The Teaching of Modern Languages*, p. 18.

lebendige Englisch und Französisch der Gegenwart im wahren Sinne des Wortes fremd wie zuvor. Sechs oder gar neun lange Jahre hat er Schalen geknackt: nun geht er, ohne dass er einen Kern gekostet hätte."[1]

The stress in language teaching, Viëtor argues, must be shifted to the living, spoken word, and in learning to read a foreign language one must have regard mainly for the content of the matter, which must be fresh and vital. Grammar must henceforth abdicate its position of master and become a servant merely. The classical method of teaching this subject, he says, must give way to the analytical-inductive method. But, above all, Viëtor emphasizes the need of accurate pronunciation to be acquired by the learner through a study of the sounds of the foreign language. He makes an eloquent plea for the then new science of phonetics.

Such, in brief, was Viëtor's message. It served as the trumpet call that rallied the progressive forces of modern language teachers both in Germany and abroad. A vigorous movement for the reform of the methods, as well as of the subject matter of modern language teaching, was effectively launched. Outside of Germany the movement was energetically sponsored by such men as Sweet and Bell in England, and Passy in France; and in Scandinavia its effects were strikingly evidenced by the founding of an organization having as its declared purpose the promulgation of Viëtor's teachings. In the United States, too, the movement found many zealous followers.

Nor was Ontario unaffected by the ferment of ideas abroad. To be sure, the advance of the reform movement was here hampered by the iron barrier of the central examinations, but its influence manifested itself, never-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

theless, during the eighties and nineties of the last century, in the rise of new ideals respecting the study of French and German, in the birth of the group consciousness of the modern language teachers, their repeated declarations of their new credo, and, in short, their emergence as a separate unit among the secondary school teachers of the province.

This professional awakening was aided to a large extent by the inauguration of a system of training for high school teachers, the beginnings of which were made in 1885. Prior to this time no institution existed in the province for the professional preparation of secondary school teachers, if we except an abortive attempt to establish training courses for such teachers in connection with the Model Grammar School.

This school, which was opened in Toronto in 1858, had a dual purpose: first, to exemplify the best methods of teaching the various secondary school studies and, secondly, to give professional training to intending grammar school teachers. The latter of these objects was, however, carried into effect for only a short period just before the abandonment of the entire venture, for the Model Grammar School came to grief in 1863, five years after its establishment.[1]

For the next twenty-two years the anomaly persisted

[1]Both French and German were included in the curriculum of the Model Grammar School. (See Annual Report for 1857, pp. 353 f.) But it is not certain whether the latter language was taught, although the French master, Emile Coulon, was well qualified to teach this subject. The following minute occurs in the proceedings of the Council of Public Instruction of August 24, 1858, (as quoted in *Doc. Hist.*, Vol. XIV, p. 58): "Ordered that Monsieur Emile Coulon be appointed, upon trial, as French master; that he be required to teach two hours a day in the Model Grammer School, and that his salary be at the rate of eighty pounds, (£80) per annum." Coulon seems to have retained the post until 1862, when he left Toronto on an extended trip to Europe. See Ryerson's testimonial in *Poetical Leisure Hours and Torontonian Descriptions* by Emile Coulon.

in the educational system of the province of providing only for the professional training of elementary school teachers and neglecting that of the teachers in the secondary schools. All that was required of headmasters in these schools was that they hold a university degree, and there were for a long time no special requirements of any kind for assistants. In the seventies there was a growing demand for professional training of high school teachers, and accordingly some rudimentary requirements were laid down which, however, proved ineffectual. Not until 1885, then, was any serious attempt made to enforce the possession of pedagogical qualifications by high school teachers. The training then instituted was to be obtained at a number of the collegiate institutes, which were designated as "training institutes". To the two schools, those of Hamilton and Kingston, which were originally denominated for this purpose, there were added by 1888 the collegiate institutes of Strathroy, Guelph, and Owen Sound. In these schools the teachers-in-training received a fourteen weeks' course in the theory and practice of teaching. Attention was given to all the subjects of the high school curriculum, and each of the departmental masters in turn, including the modern language teacher, was required to take special charge of the teachers-in-training. But permission was given from the first for specialization in any one of the five departments of the high school course (English, science, mathematics, classics and modern languages), for it was expressly provided that "teachers-in-training who desire to become teachers of special departments shall devote themselves chiefly to these departments."[1]

In the training institutes of the eighties we have

[1]See Report of the Minister of Education, 1885, p. 59.

the beginnings of professional specialization in modern languages. To be sure, these beginnings were extremely meagre, for in the first year of the establishment of these institutes only one candidate passed as a specialist in French and German, and for the next four years the number of these specialists continued to be small, although by 1889 they were more numerous than the specialists in any of the other branches except those in English, by whom they were equalled in number.

That the supply of specialists in modern languages (as well as in science) was at the time not equal to the demand is clear from the high school inspector's report. "For some time to come", he says, "teachers especially competent to take these departments may safely count on vacancies, worth from $800 to $1,000, and even more. . . . The supply of competent teachers of moderns and science has not kept pace with the requirements of the schools."[1]

The training institutes were at best only a temporary make-shift. A more satisfactory arrangement was instituted in 1889 with the establishment of the School of Pedagogy (situated in Toronto) with which the training institutes were affiliated. The course, as before, lasted fourteen weeks, seven of which were to be spent in the School of Pedagogy and the rest at one of the training institutes. In the former lectures were given on the methodology of the several high school subjects, including French and German. In the examination in methods a concession was made to those wishing to specialize, for the candidates were given a choice of subjects. University graduates were required to be examined in methods in Latin and either Greek or French and German, and other

[1]See Report of the Minister of Education, 1889, p. 195.

candidates had to undergo an examination in the methodology of science or classics or modern languages.[1]

But the academic attainments demanded of specialists were still inadequate to qualify them fully to give instruction in their special departments. An important innovation in the regulations was accordingly introduced in 1894 whereby graduation from a university honour course in English, mathematics, classics or moderns (combined with professional training at the School of Pedagogy) was made a prerequisite for ranking as a specialist in any one of these departments.[2] An immediate strict enforcement of the new regulation was, however, not contemplated. Since "there are many candidates", the minister of education wrote, "looking forward to this distinction [a specialist's certificate] who are not attending a university, and who have already taken, or are about to take, the examination with that end in view, a reasonable time should be allowed them within which to complete their course."

In the minister's report for 1894, 71 teachers were listed as specialists in French and German, all of whom with the exception of six were university graduates, and of these graduates all but eight had received their degrees from the University of Toronto. By 1900 the modern language specialists had increased to 104, though their proportion to the total number of specialists had grown only slightly, namely, from twenty-two per cent. to twenty-four and a half per cent.

Meanwhile the training institutes hitherto in connection with the School of Pedagogy had been discontinued (1891) and the observation and practice teaching was then done in the two collegiate institutes in Toronto. This

[1]See Report of Minister of Education, 1892, p. 69.

[2]See Report of the Minister of Education, 1894, p. xxxiv and p. 63.

arrangement, however, proved unsatisfactory and was soon abandoned. The want of a practice school constituted for some years a serious deficiency in the system of training of high school teachers, and was only partially remedied by the artificial device of the teachers-in-training forming themselves into classes for the purpose of practice teaching.

A step forward was taken in 1896 when the School of Pedagogy, whose name was now changed to the Ontario Normal College, was removed to Hamilton where it was affiliated with the Hamilton Collegiate Institute, whose building was used jointly by the two institutions. This new plan permitted a close articulation between the theory and the practice of teaching and represented a decided advance over the artificial scheme that had obtained in Toronto.

Such in outline were the early steps by which the professional training of modern language teachers was evolved. This evolution, as we have seen, began in the middle eighties and was quickened considerably a decade later. There were by that time in the high schools of Ontario a substantial number of teachers who had chosen modern languages as their special domain and to whom the subject was of vital concern.

There had, of course, been teachers in the high schools devoting themselves to this specialty even before the system of training outlined above had been inaugurated, but not until after the middle of the eighties did they manifest their professional consciousness in a definite way. The advent of the reform movement in modern language teaching abroad, to which reference has already been made, and the establishment of a system of secondary school teacher training, though very rudimentary at first, raised materially the professional pride of the teachers of

French and German, lent a new meaning and purpose to their vocation, and infused a new spirit into their work.

The first fruit of this professional awakening was the establishment in 1886 of the Modern Language Association of Ontario, an organization which according to the original constitution was to be dedicated to the "promotion of the interests of modern language study in Ontario."[1] In response to the newer movements in language teaching, similar organizations were at the time springing up in various countries. The Modern Language Association of America[2] had been founded three years before the Ontario organization came into being, the Verband der Deutschen Neuphilologischen Lehrschaften was established in the same year as the latter, and the Modern Language Association of Great Britain and Ireland was organized six years later. All these testified to the new spirit that was vivifying the teachers of modern languages everywhere and to their zeal for reforms in the study of these languages.

The founding of the Modern Language Association of Ontario was one of the most notable events in the history of modern language teaching in the province during the closing decades of the last century. It enabled the teachers of French and German for the first time to act concertedly for the advancement of a common cause, and served as an effective agency for the promulgation of their new ideals. It made these teachers, as a group, articulate.

So important and far-reaching has been the influence

[1] English was for several years included within the purview of the Association.

[2] The following congratulatory telegram was received by the Modern Language Association of Ontario at its first session from the Modern Language Association of America: "Baltimore, Md., U.S., Dec. 29, 1886. The Modern Language Association of America assembled in convention today at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, sends greetings and best wishes to the Modern Language Association now forming at Toronto. (Signed) President, Franklin Carter; secretary, A. M. Elliott."

of the Modern Language Association that a brief statement of the circumstances attending its foundation will not be without interest. The opening sentence of the first minute book of the Association gives the following brief account: "During the session of the Ontario Teachers' Association held in the Education Department, Toronto, in the month of August, 1886, the following persons interested in the study and teaching of modern languages met one evening in one of the rooms of the Education Department and determined to make an endeavour to organize those interested in modern language study in the province of Ontario, into a society." The names of eight modern language teachers (including some of university and some of high school rank) then follow.[1]

As a result of the preliminary conference the organization of the Modern Language Association of Ontario was effected in December of the same year, at a meeting, attended by university and secondary school teachers, when a constitution was drafted and adopted, officers elected, and the general policy of the society enunciated.[2]

The first secretary-treasurer of the Association, John Squair, whose unexpected death, though at an advanced age, occurred while the present chapter was in the course

[1]These were "J. M. Hunter, M.A., of Barrie; A. W. Wright, B.A., of Galt; Wm. Houston, M.A., of Toronto; C. Whetham, M.A., of Baltimore, Md.; J. H. Cameron, B.A., of Toronto; E. J. McIntyre, B.A., of St. Catharines; A. H. Young, of Toronto; and J. Squair, B.A., of Toronto."

[2]The first officers of the organization were, honorary president, Dr. Daniel Wilson, at the time president of University College and later president of the University of Toronto; president, W. H. Van der Smissen, then lecturer in German in University College; vice-president, G. E. Shaw, teacher of modern languages at the Jarvis St. Collegiate Institute, Toronto; secretary-treasurer, J. Squair, at the time lecturer in French in University College. In addition to these there were eight councillors.

In 1893 the Modern Language Association became affiliated with the Ontario Teachers' Association, as did also the Classical, the Mathematical, and the Natural Science Associations which had been formed following the example of the Modern Language Association.

of preparation, was chiefly responsible for the creation and successful development of the new organization,[1] with which he maintained an uninterrupted contact from the day of the preliminary conference to the last meeting held in 1927, at which he was one of the speakers. During this time he held the office of secretary-treasurer three times, for periods of seven years, eight years, and one year respectively, as well as the positions of president and honorary president, and the crowning recognition of his work was given in 1908 when he was made an honorary life member of the Association.

Of the original members[2] who definitely influenced the development of the Modern Language Association and thus materially affected the course of the history of modern language instruction in Ontario the name of W. H. Fraser[3] stands out prominent. He was one of the

[1]See Young, *The Association's Twenty-five Years* in the *Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association*, 1911, p. 174. Professor Squair modestly refers to the founding of the Association as an event "in which the writer had a share." (*John Seath*, p. 65.)

[2]According to the minutes of the Association the following persons were present at the first meeting held on Wednesday, December 29, 1886, in the University College Y.M.C.A. building: D. Wilson, LL.D., Geo. E. Shaw, B.A., W. H. Van der Smissen, M.A., W. H. Fraser, B.A., A. W. Wright, B.A., R. Balmer, B.A., E. J. McIntyre, B.A., J. H. Cameron, B.A., P. Toews, M.A., A. H. Young, Miss K. F. Hagarty, Miss E. De Wilton, L. H. Alexander, M.A., F. H. Sykes, M.A., John Seath, B.A., J. Blackstock, B.A., D. R. Keys, B.A., J. C. Robertson, B.A., G. F. Lawson, B.A., J. M. Hunter, B.A., LL.B., J. C. Frankenstein, Dr. Hamilton, M.A., J. Squair, B.A., Wm. Houston, M.A., Miss Eliza Balmer, B.A., J. A. Ferguson, G. I. Riddel, B.A., and Arnoldus Miller, M.A.

[3]At the time of the founding of the Association Mr. Fraser was French and German master at Upper Canada College. In 1887 he was appointed lecturer in Italian and Spanish at University College where he rose, by 1902, to the position of professor in his department. He was an unusually accomplished linguist. His students, of whom the writer was one, will remember him chiefly for the peculiar form of his wit, often bordering on the sardonic, and his great merits as a teacher.

The following glowing tribute was paid to his memory on the occasion of his death by the members of the Modern Language Section (originally named, as we have seen, the Modern Language Association of Ontario) at the annual meeting in 1917:

earliest missionaries in the province to spread the gospel of the newer doctrines in modern language teaching. He expounded sympathetically before the members of the Association the theories and practices of the reform movement, and applied some of its principles both in his own class work and in the French and German high school grammars, of which he was joint author with Professor Squair in the one case and Professor Van der Smissen in the other.

The Modern Language Association of Ontario was not merely or primarily an academic organization, although the discussion of literary and theoretical subjects was an important part of its programme, but was deeply concerned with the practical aspects of modern language teaching. Hence the deliberations of the Association were in a large degree devoted to problems of methodology and questions affecting the centrally prescribed curriculum and regulations, which determined the character of the French and German courses.

That the Association was from its very inception (as it has continued to be to the present time) vitally interested in the practical problems that confronted the teacher in the daily routine of the class-room was instanced by the reading, at the early meetings of the organization,

"That this Modern Language Section of the Ontario Educational Association has learned with the most sincere regret of the summons by death of one of its oldest and most faithful members, Professor W. H. Fraser.

"Professor Fraser was for many years a member of the executive, having fulfilled the exacting duties of secretary for five years and also occupied the position of president in the earlier days of the Association. The section has lost in Professor Fraser one whose judgment rarely led him astray and one who had strong convictions and whose courage was always equal to his convictions. He was a friend of education through a sense of duty, and never spared himself in any work that could further the work of his department in the university or the interests of the Modern Language Section of the Ontario Educational Association. He had ideas born of reflection and experience and was always ready to contribute something of value to our meetings. We shall miss his dry humour and his valuable counsel."

of papers on topics such as the following, most of which also reflected the trend of the newer theories of language teaching that were rapidly gaining currency: 1886, "Methods of Teaching Moderns to Beginners"; 1887, "The Natural Method of Teaching Languages", "The Ear and Eye in Modern Language Teaching"; 1889, "Elementary Teaching in French and German", "Applied Phonetics", and similar papers.

Perhaps the greatest service done by the Association to the cause of modern language instruction in the province was its sustained and energetic effort to bring about needed changes in the regulations and programmes affecting the study of French and German (as well as English). The key-note was struck at the very first meeting when a series of resolutions was passed calling for certain reforms. The Association was not to be a debating society. It was a virile organization and in combative mood, bent on redressing existing wrongs. A number of the improvements effected in the modern language curriculum and in the character of the final examinations during the eighties and nineties (as well as subsequently) were instituted as a result of the propaganda carried on by the Association and the resolutions adopted at its meetings. No projected legislative measures bearing on the study of modern languages escaped the vigilance of that body.

Their criticism was directed mainly against the nature and mode of conduct of the external examinations and the curricula and text-books prescribed. The question of the examinations in modern languages was raised at the first meeting of the Association and continued to engage the attention of the body for many years. Three objectionable phases of the subject were discussed and resolutions calling for reforms were passed. In the first place,

fault was found with the scale of values assigned to modern languages at the University matriculation examinations, and the authorities were petitioned to increase these values (1886 and 1889). Secondly, a greater degree of uniformity in the style of the French and German departmental and matriculation tests respectively was called for (1886 and 1889), and thirdly, a number of resolutions were adopted with respect to sight translation. The first resolution on the last named subject, passed in 1889, requested that "unseen passages in French, German, and English should form part of the work at all university and departmental examinations in these subjects". Five years later after sight passages had been made part of these examinations, the Association asked "that the words in the regulations respecting help to be given by the examiner in sight translation be omitted." A resolution proposed in 1899, calling for the substitution of sight translation for the prescribed authors on the matriculation papers, however, failed to carry. The character, too, of the questions on the French and German examinations came in for criticism. One type of question in particular, that on theoretical grammar,[1] which had not yet disappeared from the modern language papers, was deprecated by speakers at a number of the sessions. That the majority of the members of the Association did not fully accord with this view is, however, manifest from the fact that a resolution favouring the discontinuance of such questions was lost (1894). Among the examination reforms suggested by the Association one was especially significant (although it was rejected by the senate of the University), namely, the institution of oral tests in matriculation French and German for all candidates presenting themselves in Toronto.

[1]See page 181 ante.

The members of the Association early turned their attention to the subject of French and German text-books. In the first place, they found fault with the method of authorizing these books (1887), insisting that in the future, counsel should be taken with competent teachers before such authorization. Furthermore they asked that teachers should not be bound to use any authorized works, and that heads of departments (with the approval of the boards of trustees) be permitted to select those books which in their opinion were best adapted for their classes.[1] At the same meeting a resolution was passed expressing "emphatic disapproval" of De Fivas' Reader as well as the "Word Book". A partial remedy for the unsatisfactory character of the text-books was sought in a project to have an elementary French reader for use in the high schools compiled by a committee of the Association. An effort was also made early in the history of the organization to secure, for recommendation to the university authorities, a list of modern language books suitable for the matriculation examinations, and by 1898 the prestige of the Association had so far risen that the registrar of the University of Toronto consulted that body respecting projected modifications in modern language requirements for the matriculation examinations. Curricular changes contemplated or effected were always re-echoed in the discussions of the Association, and measures were frequently adopted with a view to counteracting unfavourable regulations.

Among the subjects recurring in the discussions of the

[1]A similar resolution was adopted in 1888 by the High School Section of the Ontario Teachers' Association: "That whilst we recognize the necessity of prescribing a list of books, authorized for use in forms I and II of high schools and collegiate institutes, in the opinion of this section the choice of the books to be used in the higher work—*viz.*, for junior matriculation . . . and for senior matriculation . . . —should be left to the choice of the principal and masters concerned."

Association was the status of modern languages at the University of Toronto. Here these languages continued to hold a subordinate place. The system of lectureships instituted in 1866 still persisted. There was until 1902 no full professor in Italian and Spanish in the arts faculty of the University of Toronto and no professors in French and German at University College. Nor was adequate recognition given to these studies in the other universities of the province. Inspector Seath at one of the meetings (1889) of the Association, of which he was at the time president, strongly deplored the unfavourable position of modern languages in these institutions.[1] At his suggestion the senate of the University of Toronto was petitioned to institute certain reforms in these subjects, and on another occasion a memorial was submitted by the Association to the Ontario government, setting forth the inferior position held at the provincial university by teachers of modern languages. Of the effect of the various resolutions adopted at different times by the Association, either giving expression to grievances or calling for reforms, more will be said in the course of the present discussion.

[1]That modern languages were still on the defensive in the university curriculum was well illustrated by an article, apologetic in tone, which appeared about this time in the *Canada Educational Monthly* (1889, Vol. XI, No. 6), from the pen of John Squair. The writer tries to show, among other things, that French is as valuable as Latin as a mental discipline: "It is often supposed that the modern languages of Europe are less perfect instruments of mental training than the ancient languages, because they have not such highly developed systems of inflection. But it will be difficult to show that the consideration of the various uses of the preposition *à* will not require as much careful thinking as the consideration of the various uses of the dative case in Latin. Or the mastering of the French subjunctive, why should it be considered so much less useful than the mastering of the Latin subjunctive? It cannot be held that the laws of French grammar are less rigid than those of Latin." (p. 206)

Formal discipline was invoked by educationists in defence of a great many things. In 1885 Inspector Hodgson wrote, "That analysis and parsing are eminently useful exercises as a means of training the logical faculty, no one will dispute."

The organization of the Ontario secondary schools was substantially fixed by the early eighties. The two types of schools, the high schools and collegiate institutes, differing only as regards the quality of their equipment and the size and qualifications of their staffs, followed identical curricula, and offered the same courses of instruction. They purported to serve a three-fold educational purpose, *viz.*, to prepare candidates for the various matriculation examinations, to educate intending teachers in preparation for their professional training, and lastly, to give a general education to pupils purposing to follow industrial, agricultural, or mercantile pursuits. In effect, however, it was almost exclusively the needs of the first two classes of pupils that determined the courses of instruction. The examination requirements of these pupils, then, virtually conditioned the curricula of the schools.

Thus in spite of the abolition of the system of payment by results, external examinations continued, as they have to this day, to exert a dominant influence on secondary education. In the modern language course they fixed not only the content of the programme but to a large degree also the methods of instruction.

The yoke of the examinations was a heavy one and the high school teachers groaned bitterly under it. Its weight oppressed them and thwarted the true purpose of education. The examinations were as numerous as they were varied. There were, to begin with, several types of entrance examinations conducted by each of the arts faculties of the universities in the province. Then there were separate examinations for candidates seeking admission into the various learned professions. In addition to these, the intermediate examination of 1876 had survived, though the payment to the schools on the results of this

examination had, as was noted in the preceding chapter, been discontinued. Moreover, besides the intermediate, the education department conducted separate examinations for the several grades of teachers' non-professional certificates. Since the requirements for these various kinds of tests sometimes differed considerably, the energies of the modern language teacher, as also those of his colleagues teaching the other subjects of the curriculum, were taxed to the utmost. Demands for the unification of the various types of examinations were made repeatedly by the secondary school teachers of the province including, as has been noted, the members of the Modern Language Association.

Partial relief was obtained in 1885 by the assimilation of some of the departmental examinations to those of the University of Toronto, and two years later a further step was taken when the matriculation examinations of the University were consolidated with the third and fourth form high school examinations conducted by the education department. Still greater co-ordination of the examination system was effected in the nineties by the creation of a Joint Board of Examiners whose functions were later taken over by the Educational Council, consisting of representatives of the University of Toronto and the education department. Meanwhile, too, the federation[1] of a number of the provincial colleges with the University of Toronto had taken place, and thus the entrance requirements were still further unified. By a gradual evolution then, the steps of which need not be traced here, the several types of high school leaving examinations in modern languages were gradually co-ordinated and their conduct entrusted to one central body, and the university matriculation examination in French and German became the

[1]The Federation Act was passed in 1887 and became effective two years later.

accepted standard for admission to higher institutions of learning. Thus one of the objectionable features attaching to the outside examinations was gradually removed.

Other objectionable phases of the examination system, however, persisted, and the efforts of those who were bent on reforms in modern languages were directed, in a large measure, to bring about further improvements in the nature of the examinations and the requirements for them. We have already noted two characteristics of the question papers in French and German to which exception was taken by members of the Modern Language Association, *viz.*, the prominence given to questions on abstract grammar and the absence of sight translation from some of the examinations. The latter deficiency was remedied the year after the Association submitted its resolution on the subject, for in 1890 "translation of unspecified passages from easy French (and German) authors" is given for the first time in the calendar of the University of Toronto as a requirement for the junior matriculation examination in these languages (in the honor matriculation examination sight translation had been required in French as early as 1878, and at least as early as 1886 in German), and the high school regulations of that year specify "sight reading" as part of the French course.[1] As regards questions on theoretical grammar, these tended to diminish in number and disappear from the examination papers as time went on, recurring toward

[1]See Report of the Minister of Education, 1890, p. 98. The following explanatory note is given (p. 101) with respect to sight translation: "At all the examinations each paper on . . . French and German authors shall contain, in addition to questions on passages from the prescribed texts, questions on passages from works not prescribed, but similar in style and of equal difficulty . . . The meaning shall be given of words not likely to have been met with by the candidates (see p. 196 ante), and the examinations in the 'sight-work' shall determine, not whether the candidate has read more than the prescribed texts, but whether he is familiar with the idioms and constructions met with in the prescribed course."

the end of the nineties, only occasionally in atavistic fashion, and vanishing completely by the close of that decade.

In spite of the reforms instituted in the examination system and the improvements in the character of the French and German question papers, the examinations tended to exert (as they have to this day) an unwholesome influence on the teaching of modern languages in the schools. The attitude, described in the preceding chapter, of rating all scholastic advancement solely by the standard of the examinations persisted, and very naturally so, since success in these was not only the student's crowning achievement but seemed to be the only achievement that really mattered. The examination—whether the matriculation or the teacher's non-professional—was the goal striven for. A dualism of theory and practice was the result (a situation that has not yet disappeared) even in the case of proficient teachers. On the one hand, the newer theories in modern language instruction were being promulgated by the School of Pedagogy or the Normal College and the Modern Language Association and, on the other hand, the examination requirements set a premium on adherence to the traditional practices.

Hence attention to French and German pronunciation was far from being general. Inspector Seath, like his predecessors, deplored this deficiency and traced it to the demands made by the final examinations. Reporting on the high schools in 1885, he wrote:

> "Too little importance is attached to pronunciation . . . I have inspected schools in which the teachers have told me that they pay little or no attention to the subject; it does not pay at the examinations, and their time is fully taken up with the grammar, composition, and translation, which do pay. For this defect the teacher cannot be held wholly responsible . . . The public, too, has been trained to gauge a teacher's merits by

his examination successes . . . It is unfortunate, I may add, that at the university matriculation examinations more value is not attached to the oral reading of . . . moderns."[1]

Four years later, after the formation of the Modern Language Association and the introduction of a system of secondary school teacher training, the complaint was reiterated by Mr. Seath:

"Insufficient attention is still paid to the oral reading of . . . French and German . . . So long as the written examination is the first consideration, the . . . defect will exist; but the time is coming, I hope, when this subject also can be tested at the local centres."[2]

And again in 1900:

"The prospect of an examination held by outside examiners turns the pupils' and the teacher's attention from the subject to the examination. The subject acquires a significance not belonging to itself, and a wrong ideal of education is set up for the pupil, the teacher, the trustee, and the general public . . . Under an examination system, that counts most on which examination questions can be put . . . It is impossible to hold an oral examination in the languages at the different centres. The consequence is that in very many of our schools little attention is paid to the pronunciation, and in many places, indeed, almost none. I have heard pupils who have been two or three or even four years at French and German, for example, make about as many blunders and read with as little fluency as a pupil who had been at the subject only a few months."[3]

And by way of summary the inspector refers to "the neglect of pronunciation" as "probably the chief defect of our language teaching." Speaking before the College and High School Section of the Ontario Educational Association in 1902, he repeated the complaint: "As to

[1]See Report of Minister of Education, 1885, p. 156.
[2]See Report of Minister of Education, 1889, p. 191.
[3]*Ibid*, 1900, p. 251.

the languages, the neglect of pronunciation is a most glaring and far too general a defect . . . the pronunciation of French is generally poor, even in the highest forms . . . The examination octopus, with its far-reaching tentacles, is, of course, chiefly to blame."

Other defects, too, in modern language instruction were noted by the inspector, defects which were not, however, due to limitations inhering in the examinations themselves, but rather to the character of the question papers. The other shortcomings according to the inspector were indifference to "the English of the translations, the meaning of the author, and the connection of the author's thoughts."

Both Inspector Seath and his colleague Inspector Hodgson were able, nevertheless, to report a number of exceptions to the all too glaring defects, born of the examination system, in the teaching of French and German. The newer tenets of modern language instruction were making inroads into the complacency of the traditional doctrines and here and there found expression, in spite of the examinations, in progressive methods of language teaching. Thus Inspector Seath in 1887 commended highly the practice, employed by a few of the best teachers, of eliminating text-books in the elementary stages of French and German; and two years later Inspector Hodgson reported increasing use of "dictation and conversation as a means of familiarizing the pupils with the pronunciation of the languages and with their colloquial idioms," although he was by no means satisfied with the extent to which *viva voce* French and German were employed. That the improvement in the teaching of these languages was none the less real was borne out also by Inspector Seath who reported "very marked progress . . . in the character of the work done in . . . French and

German" despite the many defects that still persisted in consequence of the examinations.

Inspector Seath had no inconsiderable share himself in advancing the cause of modern language study in Ontario by helping to disseminate the newer theories of language teaching. His interest in these was kept alive by his close connection, for a number of years, with the Modern Language Association, of which he was, as already indicated, not only one of the original members but one of the first presidents and a councillor for two further consecutive years (1889-1890, 1890-1891).[1] We have already noted his criticism of the subordinate status of modern languages at the universities. The extent to which he was under the sway of the new ideology was illustrated also by his statement in 1887 of the proper aims in the study of French and German. It was a profession of faith worthy of the most zealous modern language reformer of the time. To quote, "The main object of a course in French and German . . . is, I take it, to acquire proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing the languages." It follows from this that "in the elementary stages of French and German the pupil's energies should be directed mainly to dictation and written and oral composition. Not only should the eye be cultivated; the ear and the tongue also should be early accustomed to the sounds of the foreign language."[2] In 1902 he advised high school teachers to make the work in the elementary stages of French "wholly oral, without a text-book and without homework".[3] Seath favoured beginning the

[1]Just prior to his appointment as high school inspector Seath had been for two years modern language editor of the *Canada Educational Monthly*. See Squair, *John Seath*, pp. 44 and 45.

[2]See Report of Minister of Education, 1887, p. 171.

[3]Address before the College and High School Section of the O.E.A., April 3, 1902.

study of modern languages at an earlier age than was customary.[1] Though he remained steadfast in his advocacy of progressive methods of instruction in French and German, his conception of the aim of teaching these languages underwent a change toward the end of his inspectoral career. In contradiction to his own former views, he now differed with those who held that a conversational knowledge of French and German was one of the chief objects of the high school course in these languages. "The ability to converse in French or German," he wrote in 1890,[2] "is for us of secondary importance." The true object, he now argued, was scholarship and literary culture. The schools, he said, could not give enough time to modern languages to insure proficiency in their colloquial use, and even if it were possible to secure fluency in spoken French and German, he maintained, "it would not now be of practical value to one in five hundred."

Meanwhile some modifications had been made in the modern language curriculum. These were, however, comparatively slight, for the reforms introduced during the period were in the main internal reforms resulting from the refinement of methods and the improvements of text-books in response to the spread of the newer theories. The external requirements were not materially altered. The most noteworthy additions to the curriculum, specified in the course of study of 1890, were dictation and sight reading. The parallel tabulation, given in table 24, of the programmes in French (and German) as prescribed in 1876, 1885, and 1890 (the latter remained effective until 1904) shows the nature of the changes that were made, in the course of a quarter of a century, in the

[1]This weakness of our language teaching has not yet been remedied.
[2]See Report of Minister of Education, 1900, p. 269.

requirements set by the department of education. Since the programme in German was similar to that in French, only the latter is given. Nor are the authors specified, as these varied within each period from year to year.

TABLE 24—French Curricula of 1876, 1885, and 1890.

1876	1885	1890
The accidence and the principal rules of syntax; exercises; *Introductory* and *Advanced French Reader;* re-translation of easy passages into French; rudiments of conversation.	*The Elementary French Book*, grammar, composition, and the texts prescribed from time to time by the Education Department.	*The Elementary French Book*[1], grammar, composition, conversation, dictation, the prescribed texts, and sight reading.

With reference to modern language authors read in the schools, the new tendency noted in the preceding chapter became fixed in the eighties as regards French and thereafter also in respect of German. The French and German classical authors passed out of the programme of studies and their places were taken by modern writers. Corneille and Racine and Voltaire made way for Souvestre and Scribe and Daudet, and Lessing and Schiller and Goethe were supplanted by Benedix and Baumbach and Seidel, to mention only a few of the modern authors that were introduced.

There were changes also in the French and German grammars authorized for use in the high schools. De Fivas' *Grammaire des Grammaires* which had held the field since 1866[2] was superseded in 1891 by a French grammar, brought out by two Ontario scholars, which

[1]The *Elementary French Book* was replaced in 1895 by the *High School French Reader*.

[2]De Fivas' grammar had been supplemented at various times by other textbooks, such as Haas, *Introduction to the French Language*, Bué, *First French Book* and others. In 1887 Seath recommended the use of the latter book or Fasquelle, *Lessons in French* for the introductory stages of the French course. (Report of the Minister of Education, 1887, pp. 170 f.)

reflected in some degree the newer spirit in language instruction and which, in its several editions, was destined to enjoy even greater longevity than the "Grammar of French Grammars."

Fraser and Squair's *Ontario High School French Grammar*,[1] the first edition of which appeared in 1891, represented, even in its original form, a noticeable advance over its predecessors. The earlier grammarians would have thrown up their hands in utter consternation at its overt flouting of the traditional sequence of lessons, for the new grammar abandoned the logical for the psychological order. Instead of arranging the various topics in accordance with the time-honoured plan,—article, noun, adjective, pronoun, etc.—and completing the treatment of each topic before proceeding to the next following, the Fraser and Squair book dealt with each subject as the need for it was thought to arise. Hence we find so unorthodox a combination in the selfsame lesson as the past definite of verbs, personal pronoun objects, and interrogative adjectives. The French and the English exercises for translation at the end of each lesson, though, like those of the earlier grammars, consisting of disconnected sentences, were free from the glaring incongruities and sheer nonsense that characterized the exercises of some of the older text-books. In still another respect the new grammar differed from all its predecessors, namely in its scientific treatment of French sounds and in its representation of these by means of a phonetic alphabet. This feature was retained, with many refinements, in all subsequent editions of the book.

The second edition which appeared in 1900 was essentially a new work. In many respects it excelled the

[1]It was the first French grammar of native authorship to be used in the high schools.

earlier grammar as much as the latter had surpassed its predecessors. The most important innovation was the substitution of topical French texts, dealing for the most part with various aspects of French life, for the disjointed sentences of the 1891 edition. The English exercises for translation into French, however, continued to be of the disconnected type. Still another change was the introduction of the phonetic symbols of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*, which replaced the older method of representing the sounds of the French words. Later editions of the work retained the two improved features described.

The excellence of the Fraser and Squair grammar has been attested by the two and a half million copies that have been printed and by its adoption in a number of English-speaking countries outside of Canada. But despite the many merits of this text-book, it was essentially a grammar of the conservative type and helped to fasten upon the schools of the province the traditional grammar-translation method of learning modern languages.

The publication of a German grammar of Canadian authorship preceded that of the French by three years. Of this also W. H. Fraser was one of the joint authors. The other collaborator of the German book was W. H. Van der Smissen. The *Ontario High School German Grammar* which was brought out in 1888 was authorized for use in Ontario until 1909, when it was replaced by a vastly superior grammar by the same authors which remained on the prescribed list up to 1925.[1]

[1]Van der Smissen and Fraser's work was the fourth German grammar to be prescribed in Ontario. When German was first put on the high school programme in 1871, Ahn's *German Grammar* was the prescribed text-book. It was supplemented in 1877 by Otto's *German Conversation Grammar*, and both were superseded in the eighties by Aue's *German Grammar*.

Throughout the period under discussion (as well as before and after) modern languages were optional studies in the high school general course. But this course was largely only a theoretical one, since the subjects pursued were in effect, as was pointed out before, determined almost entirely by the requirements of the matriculation and teachers' non-professional examinations, and not by the needs of the large body of students that was headed neither for the university nor for the vocation of teaching. Since the goal of the latter class was uncertain,—for might they not after all alter their tentative decision and seek admission into the university or the teaching profession?—, and out of considerations of economy and ease of administration, the courses at the high schools were organized with an eye to the requirements of intending matriculants or potential teachers. The latter class was evidently the more numerous.

The result was a fluctuation in the proportion of students in Latin, French and German, corresponding to whether or not these subjects were required or allowed as options for the matriculation or the teachers' non-professional examinations. Thus the enrolments in French and German (as well as in Latin) were saved from a threatened decline, after the middle eighties, by the issuance of new departmental regulations which gave recognition to these subjects at the examinations for teachers.[1]

The marked rise in the French and German enrolments in the nineties was chiefly due to changes, as regards these studies, in the requirements for junior matriculation, following the creation about this time of associate-professorships in modern languages in the

[1]See Seath's report in the Report of the Minister of Education, 1885, p. 155.

University of Toronto and University College and the heightened recognition by the university authorities of the value of these studies.

Prior to 1885 modern languages were purely voluntary subjects for the great majority of junior matriculation candidates; for although referred to in the calendars of the University as "optional", French and German could not, except in the case of students proceeding to certain honour degrees, be selected in lieu of any other subjects. These students, it will be recalled,[1] were permitted to substitute French and German for Greek. In 1885 and for six years thereafter this privilege was allowed also to students entering any of the pass courses. From 1891 to 1895 the list of elective studies for pass candidates was extended and still greater encouragement was given to the study of modern languages. One of the following groups was now required in addition to the obligatory subjects, *viz.*, (*a*) Greek, (*b*) French and German, (*c*) French and either physics or chemistry. Furthermore, candidates purposing to take honour courses at the university in political science, mathematics and physics, chemistry and minerology, natural science, philosophy, or oriental languages were advised in the regulations to take both French and German. At the senior matriculation examination candidates were allowed options similar to those of the junior matriculation examination.

But neither language was compulsory until 1896. Between that year and 1900 an examination in either French or German was made obligatory on all matriculation candidates. Thus for the brief space of four years a modern language enjoyed the distinction, never before or since accorded it, of being adjudged of equal importance

[1]See p. 176 ante.

with Latin for the purpose of the matriculation examination. In 1900 French or German ceased to be obligatory and were again included among a number of optional subjects (Greek, French, German, and experimental science), any two of which could be taken.

Meanwhile the matriculation course had been adopted for the higher grade of teachers' non-professional certificates. The result was a powerful incentive to linguistic studies in the schools, especially during the period of 1896-1899.

TABLE 25—ENROLMENT IN FRENCH AND GERMAN BETWEEN 1883 AND 1904.

Year	Enrolment			P.C. of Total Enrolment in	
	Total	French	German	French	German
1883	11,843	5318	961	44.90	8.11
1884	12,737	5119	1089	40.19	8.54
1885	14,250	5528	1111	38.80	7.80
1886	15,344	5379	1172	35.06	7.64
1887	17,459	6180	1350	35.40	7.73
1888	17,742	6785	1580	38.13	8.91
1889	18,642	6753	1709	36.22	9.17
1890	19,395	7837	2212	40.41	11.41
1891	22,230	9319	2311	41.92	10.39
1892	22,837	10,398	2796	45.53	12.24
1893	23,055	10,482	2854	45.46	12.38
1894	23,523	10,530	2785	44.76	11.84
1895	24,662	11,866	3464	48.11	14.04
1896	24,567	13,374	4503	54.44	18.33
1897	24,390	13,761	5169	56.43	21.19
1898	23,301	13,866	6288	59.58	26.98
1899	22,460	13,464	5513	59.95	24.55
1900	21,723	12,650	3894	58.24	17.93
1901	22,523	13,024	3065	57.82	13.61
1902	24,472	13,595	3280	55.55	13.41
1903	25,722	14,522	3229	56.46	12.55
1904	27,709	16,039	3274	57.88	11.81

The effect of the new regulations on the enrolment, as shown by table 25 and fig. 11, was direct and pronounced. The attendance in French and German responded in

Fig. 11.—EFFECT OF REGULATIONS ON ATTENDANCE IN FRENCH AND GERMAN BETWEEN 1883 AND 1904

barometric fashion to the changes in the curriculum. The first considerable rise in the French registration occurred after 1891, as a result of the admission of French and German as options for the matriculation examinations. In 1889 there were 6722 high school pupils, that is 36 per cent. of the total number enrolled, studying the former language. Three years later their numbers had grown to 10,398 or more than 45 per cent. of the total. At the same time the enrolment in German was affected only slightly. The study of both languages was, however, powerfully advanced when the curriculum of 1896 went into effect. There was a rapid influx of pupils into the French and German classes, culminating in 1899 (the year before the compulsory study of a modern language was discontinued) when their respective enrolments constituted 60 per cent. and 24½ per cent. of all the students in attendance. Thereafter a decline set in, slight as regards French, but pronounced in the case of German.

The study of the latter language had attained its peak in 1898, with an attendance of 6288 pupils, representing 27 per cent. of the entire registration, an attendance that has never since been reached in the secondary schools of Ontario, both in respect to the absolute number and the per cent. of pupils in the subject.[1] The rapid falling off in German beginning with the nineties was due to a number of causes. Chief among these was, of course, the discontinuance in 1899 of compulsory French or German as a matriculation requirement and the change in the regula-

[1]The largest German enrolment in the collegiate institutes and high schools of the province in more recent times was during the first year of the Great War, when this subject was studied by 5396 pupils or nearly 15% of the total attendance. The highest per cent. enrolment in German since the beginning of the century was reached in 1911, *viz.*, 15.58%. The number of pupils pursuing this study in the continuation schools has been insignificant, not exceeding 3% of the whole registration.

tions noted above, whereby these languages along with Greek and experimental science became optional subjects, any two of which might be chosen. Now the growing importance of science made this study not only desirable but necessary for admission into several courses, with the result that for many students the choice resolved itself into one between French and German, since Greek had all but ceased to be demanded as an entrance requirement. Under the circumstances, then, French was naturally selected by the great majority of pupils. It had struck firmer root in the high school curriculum than German and was moreover easier to learn than the latter language.

The decrease in the German enrolment after 1899 was naturally accompanied by a falling off in the number of high schools teaching the subject. There had been a steady accession to the schools giving instruction in this language until in 1899 all but four of the 130 high schools and collegiate institutes in operation taught German.[1] Thereafter a decline set in, so that at the end of the period under discussion there were thirty-one schools from whose programmes this study was omitted. Such was the effect of the new curriculum.

The power of departmental regulations and the extreme tendency to uniformity of programme in a centralized system like Ontario's was strikingly exemplified in the case of Latin, which also showed that the high school course was organized chiefly with a view to the requirements of the teachers' examinations.

After 1870, for reasons discussed in a previous chapter, there had been a sudden fall in the Latin attendance,[2] the

[1]Throughout the period under review German was in the curriculum of practically every collegiate institute, there being in no year more than one such school where this language was not taught.

[2]See fig. 12 on p. 244.

number of students in this subject diminishing in two years from 90 to 48 per cent. of the total enrolment. This initial rapid drop was followed by a more gradual decline, though at times not without a suggestion of ability to rally. By 1887 (see table 26) the registration in Latin had

TABLE 26—EFFECT OF REGULATIONS ON ENROLMENT IN LATIN BETWEEN 1883 AND 1904.

Year	Enrolment		P.C. in Latin
	Total	Latin	
1883	11,843	4439	37.48
1884	12,737	4454	34.96
1885	14,250	4937	34.64
1886	15,344	4954	32.28
1887	17,459	5409	30.98
1888	17,742	6099	34.37
1889	18,642	6645	35.64
1890	19,395	7114	36.73
1891	22,230	8488	38.18
1892	22,837	9006	39.44
1893	23,055	8918	38.64
1894	23,523	9366	39.82
1895	24,662	12,589	51.05
1896	24,567	15,526	63.16
1897	24,390	16,873	69.18
1898	23,301	19,319	82.91
1899	22,460	19,131	85.18
1900	21,723	18,073	83.19
1901	22,523	19,029	84.48
1902	24,472	18,884	77.16
1903	25,722	18,831	73.21
1904	27,709	19,409	70.04

dwindled down to 31 per cent. of the total, the lowest mark attained since 1855, nor ever subsequently approximated. After 1887, when the departmental and university examinations were partially assimilated, the attendance in this language was materially bolstered up, and with the fuller consolidation of the two types examinations, whereby in 1896 Latin became compulsory for teachers'

certificates,[1] this language assumed an importance in the high school programme equalled only in the days of "qualifying Latin" during the period of 1866-1870. The result was a phenomenal increase in the number of students learning this language, culminating in 1899 in a proportional enrolment never since exceeded and falling short only by ten per cent. of the highest level reached during the heyday of Latin more than thirty years earlier. The gradual decline after 1899 was evidently anticipatory of the projected curricular changes which were effected in 1904 and which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter XII

THE LAST PHASE

(1904-1928)

The new programme of studies and regulations which were published in 1904 had been before the country for a number of years. They were heralded by the department of education as ushering in reforms of great moment, and hopes ran high. A new panacea had been discovered for the manifold educational ills.

In the sphere of secondary education the revised regulations were aimed to counteract the excessive unification of the courses of study and the undue pressure of examinations. They succeeded in neither, or at most to only a slight degree. For despite the introduction of an imposing array of courses (eight in number: general, commercial, manual training, household science, art, agriculture, matriculation, and teachers' non-professional

[1]See Inspector Seath's report in the Report of the Minister of Education, 1900, p. 255.

courses), the high school curricula continued to be organized almost exclusively with a view to the needs of prospective matriculants and teachers; and the new examinations, which were, except in the languages, henceforth to be distinct for these two classes of students, determined in the main, as they had before, the content of the school programme and the methodology of instruction. Among other changes, the new regulations officially lengthened the high school course to five years,[1] divided into three main divisions and designated respectively as lower, middle, and upper schools.

How did the languages fare in the re-organized high school curriculum? Their status was unaffected except in the teachers' courses. These were to be of two kinds, leading respectively to the junior (second class) non-professional certificate, based on the work of the middle school, and the senior (first class) non-professional certificate for which the upper school course was the basis.[2] Latin which had been required, as was noted in the preceding chapter, for teachers' certificates since 1896, was now made compulsory for the senior non-professional examination only, but was allowed also as a bonus subject for the junior teachers' examination. As for French and German, they were entirely withdrawn from the latter examination and became optional for the senior non-professional certificate.

It was the intention of the new curriculum to stress those studies in the courses for teachers which had a direct bearing on the work taught in the public schools. Hence the languages were to be largely sacrificed for more

[1]In practice the larger schools had been organized on a basis of five forms even before the new regulations went into effect. See Report of the Minister of Education, 1900, p. 263.

[2]There was to be also a district non-professional certificate, but valid only in certain districts and only with the special approval of the minister of education.

intensive work in English, history, mathematics, and similar subjects of direct concern to the public school teacher.

A partial exception was, however, made in the case of Latin, which, as already stated, was retained as a compulsory subject for intending first class teachers and as a bonus for second class teachers' examinations. To allow modern languages to count similarly was in the opinion of the minister of education indefensible. "Latin", he argued, "is generally recognized to be far superior as a disciplinary subject to either of the modern languages, and, therefore, neither French nor German is entitled to the same recognition."[1]

It is not surprising that the modern language teachers viewed the new regulations with considerable alarm and saw in them a grave menace to the successful teaching of French and German in the high schools of the province. Not only had these languages been discontinued as options for the junior certificate, so that teachers complained, but they were not effective options even in the senior examination, since chemistry and mineralogy were likely to be chosen instead. To quote one of the speakers at the 1906 session of the Modern Language Association:

> As the teachers' course determines to a great extent the work of the schools outside of the larger cities, and as the principals try to arrange the time-table so as to have as few classes as possible, the unfavourable position given French and German means that few candidates for teachers' certificates will take these languages under present conditions. This means less time allotted for these languages in the schools, and hence an inferior grade of work done.[2]

[1]See Report of the Minister of Education for 1903, p. XIV.

[2]From a summary of an address by G. L. Macdonald of the Ingersoll (now of the London Central) Collegiate Institute in the Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, 1906, p. 171.

Accordingly the Modern Language Association in a memorial to the education department urged the claims of French and German, contending that for many students "language study is a more effective means of mental culture than science study." But the fears of the profession proved unfounded, for as a matter of fact the French and German enrolments did not suffer in consequence of the new regulations. This is probably ascribable to the incentive given to the pursuit of these studies by the matriculation requirements of 1905-06 which strongly advised candidates to select modern languages for their options.

The programme of studies issued in 1904 was characterized by minuteness of prescription. Thus the French and German curricula were given in detail, and there were advocated, particularly in the early stages of the work, highly progressive methods of instruction. The course outlined for the lower school was an epitome of the direct method. The syllabus of studies in modern languages follows:

> *Lower School;* The elementary French and German books, including introductory work in authors.
>
> *Note.*—The work in French should at first be wholly without a text-book, for the training of the ear and tongue; grammar learned incidentally. Names of common objects, states, and actions. Memorization of suitable selections from simple poetry. Reading anecdotes, short stories, and easy descriptions, with oral drill on the material read. After three or four months the systematic study of the elementary book should be begun, the work being chiefly oral. German should be begun in the same way the second year, but with greater apportionment of time, and more rapid progress. When desired, German may be begun first, being followed by French.
>
> *Middle School;* Course in the lower school continued. The special study of the texts prescribed for the pass junior matriculation into the University of Toronto, with sight reading.

> *Upper School;* Course of the middle school in grammar and composition continued. The special study of the authors prescribed for honours at matriculation into the University of Toronto, with sight work.

These regulations remained in force, with only insignificant variations in wording, for fifteen years, and have been only slightly modified more recently with regard to the lower school work. The modern language course has thus practically remained unchanged from 1905, when the new regulations became effective, to the present time.

The history of education in Ontario during this period may conveniently be divided into three parts: first, the decade preceding the Great War; second, the period of the war; and third, the years following the war.

The creation of continuation schools was an important development of the first period. These schools grew out of the "continuation classes" which were first established in 1896 to provide a more advanced course suited for public school pupils in rural districts. Gradually this course was extended to include the subjects of the lower forms of the high school and by 1908, when the designation "continuation schools" was first used, authorization was given for the study in these schools of the third and fourth year subjects of the high school course, and still later the pursuit of upper school studies was, under certain conditions, also sanctioned. Thus it is seen that although the continuation schools were originally established to suit the specific needs of pupils in agricultural communities, they have virtually come to be ordinary high schools situated in rural districts, whose curriculum is in no wise differentiated from that of the typical Ontario high schools. Consequently much of the discussion which follows regarding the teaching of modern

languages in these schools will also apply to the continuation schools.

In one very important respect, however, these two types of institutions are widely at variance, namely in the qualifications of the teachers. Whereas the collegiate institutes and high schools are staffed almost exclusively by university graduates[1] most of whom are specialists in the various departments, continuation school teachers have lower qualifications and their interests are not centred in any particular study. They are, too, as compared with high school teachers, less permanently rooted in their calling. The typical continuation school teacher is, as a speaker at a meeting of the Ontario Educational Association facetiously characterized him, "transient—a pedagogical tramp". The quality of the modern language instruction in these schools has, therefore, been of a lower order than in the urban secondary schools.

The questions that agitated the teachers of modern languages in the high schools during the years preceding the Great War were substantially the same as had concerned them during the period treated in the preceding chapter, namely, the subject of examinations, text-books, methodology, and similar questions. The matter of *viva voce* French and German especially was the periodic refrain in all the discussions of the Modern Language Association. The feeling was general that this phase of modern language work continued to receive inadequate attention in the schools and that in general "the present state of modern language study and teaching in the high schools" was unsatisfactory. Accordingly a memorial was addressed in 1911 to the superintendent of education, Dr.

[1]Although the possession of a university degree became a necessary condition for qualification as a high school teacher only in 1920, the overwhelming majority of teachers held such degrees before then.

Seath,[1] in which the grievances of the Association were set forth at length with the urgent request for redress. The teachers asked specifically for a larger share of time in the schools for the study of French and German; for the institution in these languages of oral tests, the feasibility of which, they asserted, was proved by the example of Scottish and English schools; and lastly, for an annual government appropriation to be used toward paying the travelling expenses of teachers, to enable them to improve their oral command of French and German "by actual contact with the spoken language and the customs of the respective peoples."

The only reply of the government was the following clause appended to the 1913 syllabus for French and German and intended as an exhortation to teachers and boards of trustees:

> Special importance should be attached to oral work. Teachers should improve themselves by attending suitable summer classes and by residence for a time in France and Germany. Boards should assist them, when practicable, by at least allowing them leave of absence for the latter purpose.

In 1913 fruitless representations were again made to the department of education regarding the unsatisfactory condition of modern language teaching in the province.

The outbreak of the Great War cut short demands for reforms in the schools and interrupted for a time educational theorizing. Attention was focused upon the progress of the struggle.

Certain definite effects of the war on the study of modern languages soon became apparent, the most obvious of which was the reaction against the study of German, manifested by a falling off in the enrolment of

[1] With the elevation of Dr. Seath to the superintendency of education in 1906 this office, which had been abolished in 1876, was restored, though with diminished powers.

this language. This set in during the second year of the war and became increasingly pronounced in the years that followed.[1] The hatred and prejudice, born of the war, against the German people was extended also to their language. The result was that in the course of four years the German registration in the high schools dropped from 5396 to 1638, or from nearly fifteen per cent. of the total attendance to a little over five per cent. During the same period the 177 pupils who were pursuing that study in the continuation schools, at the beginning of the war, dwindled down to 48, representing a decline from three to less than one per cent. of the entire enrolment.

The war-time ebb in the German attendance was accompanied by a flow in the French. The study of the latter tongue acquired a new significance; it became more purposeful and more vital during the stress of the conflict. France was no longer regarded as a remote land extraneous to the interests of Canada. The thousands of young Canadians who had gone to France, fought there, and died there, awakened a new interest in the country and gave a new motive to the study of its language. An inverse relationship between the French and the German enrolments was the natural result. By reference to table 27 it will be seen that the ratio of the latter to the total attendance declined at approximately the same rate as the ratio of the former rose. The German registration was evidently deflected from its course and diverted into the French.

[1]During the first year of the war and early in the second year the position of German was not affected. Inspector J. E. Wetherell writing in 1915 commented approvingly on this: "The study of the German language proceeds as if nothing unusual had happened. As many pupils as ever, of choice, pursue the study of German. The bias that justly prevails against the German rulers and the German people does not appear at all in the attitude of the schools toward the German language." Report of the Minister of Education, 1915, p. 34.

TABLE 27—The Effect of the War on French and German Enrolments

Year	Percentage of Total Enrolment in	
	French	German
1914	65.25	14.79
1915	68.86	11.98
1916	71.68	7.96
1917	73.18	7.55
1918	77.87	5.32

Nor did the adverse consequences to the study of the German language, engendered by the events of 1914-1918, merely synchronize with their duration. The effects have persisted long after the removal of the original motivating cause and have completely altered the normal course of the development of the study of the language in the secondary schools of Ontario. The decline in the enrolment which began in 1915 continued at a steady rate, and for nine years the process of decay manifested no signs of abatement. In the high schools, as is shown by table 28, the German registration fell off between 1914 and the school year of 1923-24 from 14.79 to 3.52 per cent. of the total, and in the continuation schools the study of the language was discontinued altogether after 1921-1922. Thus in the space of a decade the progress of half a century was wiped out, for since 1923-24 the proportion of secondary school pupils taking German to the total number enrolled has actually been slightly smaller than in 1871,[1] the year when the language was first admitted into the Ontario school curriculum; and there were only as many high schools teaching German in 1925-26 as there had been forty years earlier, although the number of secondary schools, exclusive of the vocational

[1]In 1871, 3.10% of the secondary school pupils were enrolled in German; in 1923, 2.95%. The latter figure takes into account also the attendance at continuation schools.

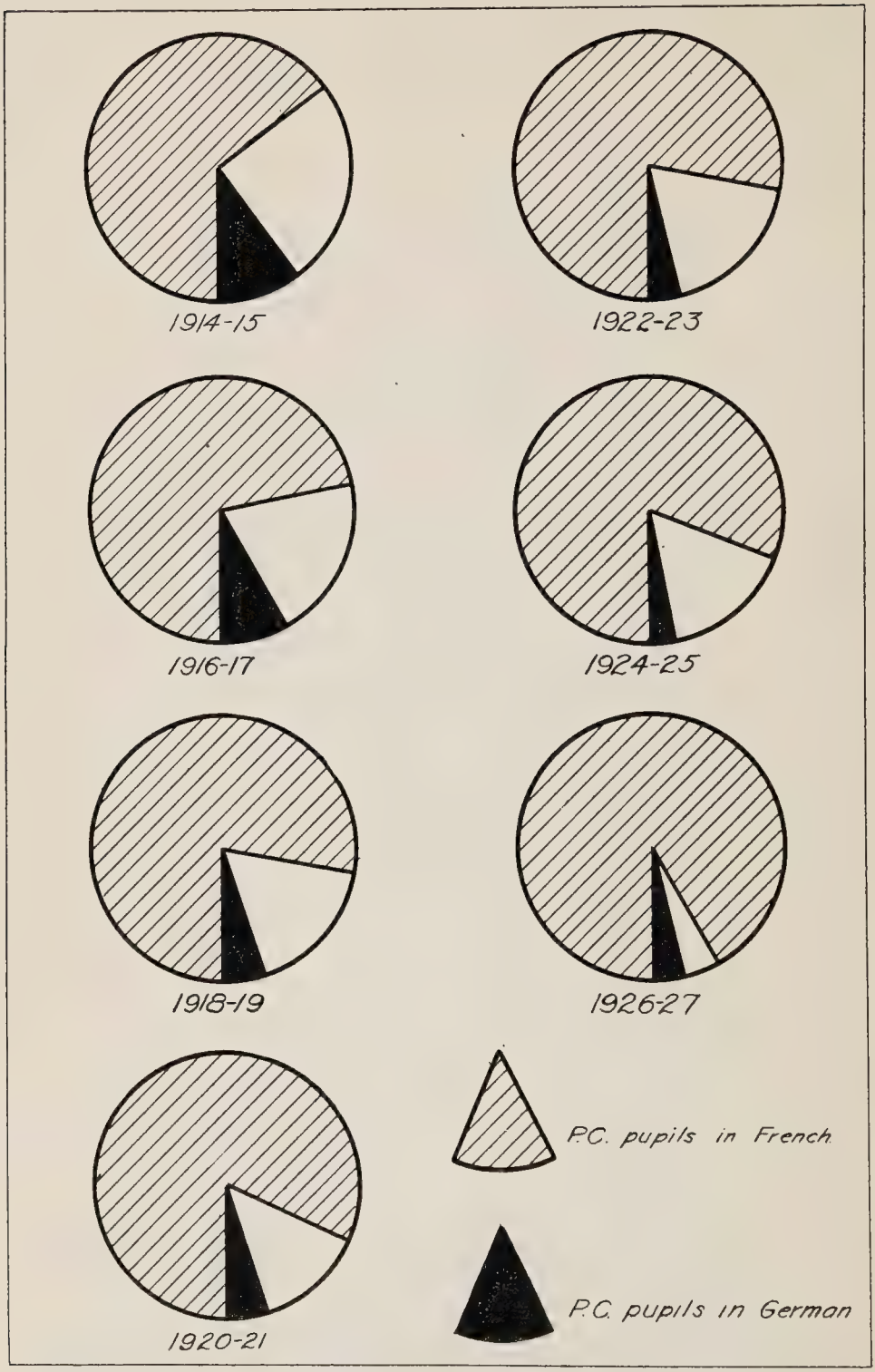

Fig. 12.—COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS ENROLLED IN FRENCH AND GERMAN RESPECTIVELY BETWEEN 1914 AND 1927

schools, had increased during the interval by 278 per cent.[1]

TABLE 28—Decline in German Enrolment in High and Continuation Schools since 1914.

Year	Number of Pupils studying German in		Per Cent. Pupils Studying German in	
	High Schools	Continuation Schools	High Schools	Continuation Schools
1914	5396	177	14.79	2.91
1915	4606	160	11.98	2.35
1916-17	2297	81	7.96	1.59
1917-18	2197	73	7.55	1.43
1918-19	1638	48	5.32	.95
1919-20	1703	24	5.15	.46
1920-21	1795	10	5.25	.17
1921-22	1710	1	4.33	—
1922-23	1835	—	4.11	—
1923-24	1701	—	3.52	—
1924-25	1685	—	3.23	—
1925-26	1746	—	3.26	—
1926-27	1914	—	3.59	—

Statistical data on the teaching of German in the vocational schools (formerly known as technical and industrial schools) prior to 1916-17 are not given in the reports of the minister of education. Between 1916-17 and 1920-21 the language was taught in only one of these schools, the Toronto Technical and Art School, in which the number of pupils learning German diminished progressively, during the four years, from 187 to 8, and after the last named year the study was discontinued entirely. For two years no German was taught in any of the vocational schools. In 1923-24 only one pupil was enrolled in the subject (in the Hamilton school). For the next two years there was a recrudescence of the study, when it was

[1]The number of high schools and collegiate institutes alone (*i.e.* not including the continuation schools and vocational schools) had grown during the same period by 70 per cent.

taught respectively in two and four schools and to 112 and 222 students. But in 1926-27 the enrolment fell off once more, diminishing to 46 pupils.

Is this withering of the attendance in German since 1915 only a passing phase to be followed by a revival of interest in the language, or is this subject doomed to recapitulate, on a foreshortened scale, the story of the study of Greek, which has all but passed out of our high schools?[1]

The outlook at the present holds little promise for the early rehabilitation of German. The war-time prejudice against the study of the language has given way to opposition to it on grounds of economy and expediency of administration.

These considerations have resulted not only in the banishment of German from the majority of the schools but also in a curtailment of the time given to the subject in schools in which it is taught. Even in its heyday the German course was regularly one year shorter than the French. More recently the practice has been gaining ground of compressing into two years an amount of work in the former language normally done in four years in the French course, so that the study of German has frequently resolved itself into a deliberate "cram" for examinations, and has been taught by methods contravening most of the accepted principles of modern language teaching. With the rising cost of education the demands for economy have been more persistent and have had to be met.

Considerations of economy have also militated against a more general acceptance of Spanish in the secondary schools, after its introduction into the programme of

[1]In 1925-26 there were 263 pupils in Greek in the 52 collegiate institutes, 66 in the 134 high schools, and none in the continuation schools; and they constituted only half of one per cent. of the secondary school enrolment exclusive of the vocational schools.

studies ten years ago. The subject has failed to take root, and present indications do not point to the probability of its growth. For despite the official regulations the tendency in Ontario has been, largely from motives of economy, toward fixed courses of instruction with a minimum of elective studies, a tendency that has been especially pronounced in smaller schools.

The way for the admission of Spanish into the secondary school curriculum was prepared by a paper read by Dr. M. A. Buchanan, professor of Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto, before the Modern Language Association in 1917, and the following year the provincial matriculation board urged upon the department of education the claims of this language as a subject for the matriculation examination.[1] In August of the same year the study of Spanish was authorized as an optional subject in the commercial course of the high schools, and a month later this permission was extended also to the other courses. Accordingly Spanish acquired a legal status on a par with French and German. Facilities for learning the language by teachers were soon provided by the department of education in summer school courses. The admission of Spanish into the high school curriculum was received with warm acclaim by sponsors of the language and hopes ran high for the successful development of the new study. That these hopes have not been realized is made clear by the data in table 29. Italian, which was admitted into the programme of studies shortly after Spanish, has fared even worse than the latter language. Up to 1926-27 it had been taught in only one school (and only for two years) and the last reported registration was four pupils.

[1]See Buchanan, *Spanish in our Universities and Schools*, in the Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, 1919, pp. 397 ff.

TABLE 29—NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS TEACHING SPANISH AND THE ENROLMENT IN THE SUBJECT BETWEEN 1919 AND 1927.

Year	Number of Schools		Enrolment		Per Cent. Pupils in Spanish
	Total	Teaching Spanish	Total	in Spanish	
1918-19	164	4	30,732	25	.08
1919-20	167	4	33,036	124	.37
1920-21	168	6	34,128	148	.43
1921-22	170	6	39,405	167	.42
1922-23	175	11	44,631	330	.51
1923-24	181	10	48,263	197	.41
1924-25	184	11	52,116	226	.43
1925-26	186	6	53,512	217	.41
1926-27			53,400	254	.47

Spanish has never been taught in any of the continuation schools and has had but scant and transitory vogue in the vocational schools. In only one of the latter institutions, namely, the Niagara Falls South school, was the language taught for two consecutive years (1923-24 and 1924-25), and only two other vocational schools, those in Hamilton (1921-22) and Sarnia (1922-23) have had classes in the subject, which were in both cases discontinued at the end of a year. Thus the teaching of Spanish in the vocational schools has been ephemeral indeed, lasting only for four years, from 1921-22 to 1924-25.

We shall now revert to a brief review of the general status of modern language teaching in the high schools of Ontario in the years following the war. With the conclusion of peace, the objectives, methods, and achievements in the teaching of modern languages were again subjected to scrutiny, and the dissatisfaction which had been largely pent up while the struggle lasted was again given voice to. Toward the end of 1918 the late Professor Squair reviewed the situation as regards French in an

Open Letter on the Teaching of French, which aroused a very animated discussion at the time; and in a paper which he read in the spring of the following year before the Modern Language Section,[1] he again called attention to the existing defects in the teaching of the language and suggested certain remedies. The inadequate results attained he attributed mainly to insufficient time devoted to this study, and advocated the prolongation of the secondary school French course by two or three years, either by introducing the subject into the elementary school or by lowering the age of admission of pupils into the high school.

A similar suggestion was contained in a series of recommendations submitted to the Section a few days later by Mr. W. H. Williams and Professor B. Fairley, at the conclusion of a review of the "Report on the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain", which had been published the previous year. The speakers recommended among other things the establishment of junior high schools, where the study of a modern language might be begun at an earlier age. A resolution was also adopted at the same meeting requesting the minister of education to appoint a commission to investigate the status of modern language teaching "with the object of making it more practical and thorough." Nothing came of this suggestion. It was only one more cast into the limbo of neglected recommendations of the Modern Language Section.

Meanwhile steady progress was being made in the system of training high school teachers, including teachers of modern languages, and their qualifications were being gradually raised. The facilities for the professional

[1]See Squair, *French in the Educational System* of Ontario, in the Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, 1919, pp. 389 ff.

training of secondary school teachers were materially improved with the establishment in 1908, in connection with the University of Toronto and Queen's University, of faculties of education, which took over the functions of the Ontario Normal College. Satisfactory provision was made in the new institutions for observation and practice teaching. This was especially true of the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto which had practice schools connected with it, the University Schools. In Kingston the practical work was carried on in the collegiate institute and in one of the public schools. Both faculties of education offered improved courses for modern language specialists.

When the Faculty of Education of Queen's University was discontinued in 1920, the training of all secondary school teachers became centred in the Toronto institution, which was reorganized and its name changed to the Ontario College of Education. The courses for first class public school teachers' certificates, which had formed part of the programme of the faculties of education, were then transferred to the normal schools, and only university graduates were admitted into the College of Education. For, according to a new regulation, none but holders of university degrees could qualify as high school teachers after the opening of the 1920-1921 school term, whereas prior to that time a first class public school teacher's certificate (the academic standard for which was the upper school course) was accepted. The new regulation marked an important forward step in raising the qualifications of high school teachers.

An attempt was also made about this time (1919) to improve the equipment of teachers of French and more particularly their mastery of the oral language, by instituting summer courses in the subject at the University of

Toronto. These courses were further enhanced in 1927, when they were transferred to the city of Quebec and conducted in a purely French environment.

This was evidently done in response to a request in 1925 by the Modern Language Section. Throughout the period under review this organization continued to play a dominant *rôle* in the advancement of the cause of the study of modern languages. It is true that its recommendations, as previously indicated, were not always translated into action, but it kept its finger on the pulse of modern language teaching and diagnosed and suggested remedies for the maladies that beset it.

Some important educational developments that came in the wake of the war must now be noted. The most striking of these was the unprecedented expansion of secondary education. The sudden decline in attendance which had set in, due to war conditions, in 1916 was followed, after the declaration of peace, by a steadily and rapidly growing secondary school enrolment, which not only soon filled out the temporary depression of the war period, but reached a mark never before attained. In seven years the number of pupils on the rolls was nearly doubled. This remarkable growth was due, in the main, to two causes, *viz.*, a legislative enactment which raised the age of compulsory school education from fourteen to sixteen years, and a reorganization of the secondary school courses, both of which changes went into effect in 1921.[1]

The reorganization of the secondary school curriculum was brought about with a view to remedying certain recognized evils springing from the operation of the regulations in force, evils, which repeated reforms, notably

[1]The new curriculum and regulations became fully operative only the following year.

those at the beginning of the century, had failed to eradicate. In the first place, the courses of study continued to be excessively uniform. They were in practice, as they had been before the revision of 1904, only of two kinds, those leading to admission into the normal schools and those preparing for matriculation into the universities. The needs of the general student were not taken sufficiently into account. In the second place, the high school programme with its multiplicity of studies pursued concurrently, imposed too severe a strain on the pupils and tended to encourage superficiality in habits of study. Lastly, it was maintained, that the old curriculum was too rigidly centralized and not adaptable to special local needs.

The revision, then, aimed to make the curriculum more flexible by increasing the number of optional subjects; to relieve the overpressure by reducing the number of concurrent studies and by introducing the unit system of examinations, whereby one or more subjects could be tried at one time; and to encourage the pursuit by pupils of a general education, as opposed to a specific one in preparation of outside examinations, by awarding a new type of graduation diplomas to successful general course students. The new regulations also shortened the high school course from six to five years.[1]

This reduction of the secondary school period had the effect of retaining many pupils in the schools beyond the middle school course, and consequently tended to augment the secondary school enrolment.[2] The most important

[1]According to the regulations of 1913 the complete high school course was to be of six years' duration, divided, as in 1904, into lower, middle, and upper schools; but each of these divisions was now to be taken in two years. The reduction was effected in 1921 by introducing some of the upper school subjects into the fourth year of the course.

[2]See the report of the high school inspectors in the Report of the Minister of Education, 1923, p. 29.

factor, however, in increasing the attendance was the extension of the compulsory school age, already referred to, through the passage of the Adolescent Act of 1921. It swelled the numbers of pupils in the secondary schools to an unprecedented degree. The adoption of the unit system of examinations in place of the old system, which had required students to be examined on a large number of subjects at the same time, probably also tended to increase the high school registration, since unsuccessful candidates were now encouraged to prolong their stay at school with the fair prospect of being able, by repeated attempts, to overcome, if necessary one by one, even the most recalcitrant papers of the matriculation examination.

The unit system of examinations, which was one of the most radical changes introduced by the revision of 1921,[1] has in many respects belied the hopes that its adoption gave rise to, and has more particularly failed to work out to satisfaction as regards the foreign languages. The new system has not only tended to create in the minds of the students the perverted notion that the content of the curriculum consisted of unrelated and disjointed subjects, but that some of these were capable of further division into still smaller fairly independent parts. Thus even the sense of the unity of a single language has, to some extent, been destroyed in the minds of the pupils, since French or German may each be tried in two instalments, and a candidate may receive full credit for one part of the examination, though he fail dismally in the other. Dr. W. E. McNeill, registrar of Queen's University, in an address before the 1928 session of the Ontario Educational Association, put the matter this way:

> The . . . foreign languages . . . are not necessarily studied as wholes and are not graded as wholes.

[1]The change went into effect in 1922.

> Sixty-seven out of 184 freshmen at Queen's University divided their papers in one or both languages, writing the authors in one year and the composition in another. That is nearly one-third. Doubtless many of these tried the two papers in the first year of writing and passed only one . . . In any case, a system under which thirty-one per cent. of matriculants pass authors and composition in different years will inevitably pull down the standards in foreign languages."[1]

What have been the other effects of the revised curriculum? Has it led to a differentiation of schools or courses to meet peculiar local needs or suit special tastes or aptitudes of students? Has it evolved a class of general course pupils as distinguished from those preparing either for the teaching profession or the university? In a word, have most of the specific objectives aimed at been attained through the reorganization of the high school programme of studies? The answer to these questions must be a negative one. The high school course has remained in all essential respects unchanged, and has not been supplanted as was hoped, by a course calculated to round out, for the great majority of students, a secondary school education complete in itself.

Consequently the curriculum has continued to be characterized by uniformity and centralized prescription. Large masses of boys and girls have poured incessantly into the schools and have nearly all been put through the same educational process, without regard to their natural capacities or their proximate or ultimate needs. The new

[1]From a copy of the address ("The Unit System of Matriculation Examinations") kindly furnished me by Dr. McNeill. In his indictment of the new examination system as a whole the speaker said: "Counting independent units is an American system. We seem to have taken it up in Ontario at the very time when the best American institutions are abandoning it. Harvard, and Yale, and Princeton are adopting and adapting the ways of Oxford and Cambridge. They are abandoning a system that counts the steps of the process for a system that concerns itself primarily with a measure of power and of final results."

graduation diploma has failed to provide an incentive for individualization in education.

Thus another attempt has come to grief, one of a long line of similar attempts to introduce diversity and freedom into the high school curriculum,[1] to fit it to the needs of the child rather than to squeeze the child into its mould. And so the Ontario high school remains today what it has always been, an examination-preparatory school. For notwithstanding all the protestations to the contrary, reiterated by inspectors and superintendents and ministers of education and stressed in prescribed programmes and regulations, the high school course has *in effect*, if not by intent or in theory, always had but one aim, namely, to prepare candidates for an entrance examination. And the distant goal of the entrance examination has been the motive power, the impelling force in education, and has tended, as already noted, to rigidity and uniformity.

The tendency to uniformity is strikingly illustrated by the preponderant importance assumed by the study of French. The registration in this subject has grown until in 1926-27, 85½ per cent. of all the students enrolled in the high schools were taking this language, the largest enrolment in any single subject except English.

[1]The two most important reforms, prior to 1921, designed to adapt the secondary school to the needs of the great majority of students not preparing for outside examinations, were, as will be recalled, those of 1871 and 1904. In the former year provision was made for a special "English Course", intended for general course students, to be distinguished from the "Classical Course" for aspiring matriculants; and the revision of 1904 sought to introduce diversity into the high school programme by establishing a large number of courses. Other similar attempts at curricular reform may be cited. Even the Act of 1853 had provided for instruction in the grammar schools in "all the higher branches of a practical English and commercial education", and the revised regulations of 1865, at least in theory, took into account the needs of students not destined for the university. The regulations issued in 1876 gave considerable latitude to local authorities in the organization of the courses and in the choice of studies, and the amended regulations of 1882 permitted even greater flexibility of the curriculum by increasing greatly the number of options.

It is evident that many of these students are either by nature unfitted to learn a foreign language or have no intention of pursuing it long enough to acquire a degree of mastery. These pupils clog the French class-rooms, impede the progress of the linguistically gifted students, and tend to keep the study at a relatively low level. Not only in the urban high schools but in the rural continuation schools also the indiscriminate teaching of French is carried on. (In 1926-27 it was taken by 75 per cent. of all the students in these schools and six years earlier it had been taken by 87 per cent.) It is taught to nearly all alike, irrespective of their qualifications for the study or their present or future needs. Such is the passion for uniformity and ease of administration.

Wherein lies the remedy? How shall the potential linguists be singled out and the studies of others be directed to courses more in harmony with their native predispositions or more suitable for their ultimate careers? This problem evidently comes within the purview of educational psychology. But the first condition for any attempted solution is the effective substitution of pliancy for rigidity and of individuality for centralization in the secondary school system of Ontario.

How is this to be effected? The writer does not presume to rush in where the reformers of 1871, 1904, and 1921 feared to tread or trod in vain. One might, however, point to the example of certain European countries, where the solution has been found in either the differentiation of schools or of courses of study or to the example of several American states.

Various aspects of the modern language enrolment have been dealt with in different parts of the present chapter. Tables 30 and 31 give a general résumé of this enrolment for the whole period here discussed. Attention

has already been called to the unprecedented expansion of the French high school attendance, which, as shown by table 30, rose in twenty-two years by progressive steps[1] from 16,039 to 45,742 or from 57.88 per cent. to

TABLE 30—Modern Language Enrolments in High Schools from 1904 to 1927

Year	Enrolment					Per Cent. Pupils in		
	Total	French	German	Spanish	Italian	French	German	Spanish
1904	27,709	16,039	3274			57.88	11.81	
1905	28,661	16,430	3366			57.07	11.74	
1906	29,392	16,579	3593			56.41	12.22	
1907	30,331	17,310	3835			57.07	12.64	
1908	31,912	18,960	4009			59.41	12.32	
1909	33,101	19,720	4329			59.57	13.07	
1910	32,612	20,622	4758			63.23	14.58	
1911	32,227	20,684	5024			64.18	15.58	
1912	32,273	21,009	4911			65.09	15.21	
1913	33,746	22,806	5042			67.58	14.94	
1914	36,466	23,797	5396			65.25	14.79	
1915	38,426	26,462	4606			68.86	11.98	
1916	28,833	20,524	2297			71.18	7.96	
1917-18	29,097	21,296	2197			73.18	7.55	
1918-19	30,732	23,932	1638	25		77.87	5.32	
1919-20	33,036	26,313	1703	124		79.64	5.15	.37
1920-21	34,128	27,956	1795	148		81.91	5.25	.43
1921-22	39,405	21,211	1710	167		53.82	4.33	.42
1922-23	44,631	35,059	1835	330		78.55	4.11	.51
1923-24	48,263	38,832	1701	197		80.46	3.52	.41
1924-25	52,116	41.980	1685	226		80.55	3.23	.43
1925-26	53,512	44,173	1746	217	12	82.55	3.26	.41
1926-27	53,400	45,742	1914	254	4	85.66	3.59	.47

85.66 per cent. of the total, and which has, since 1915, been accompanied by and has partly resulted from a shrinking of the German enrolment. The table also depicts what appears at the present time, as was shown

[1]The sudden depression of the French registration in 1921-22 was evidently due to the adoption that year of the unit system of examinations and the consequent relegation of the subject, in many schools, to the higher forms, an arrangement which was soon found unsatisfactory and was discontinued.

before, an abortive attempt to enrich the modern language programme by the addition of Spanish and the utter failure of the attempt to introduce Italian into the high school course.

Table 31 gives the statistical data for the continuation schools after 1911. No data are to be found in the reports of the minister of education prior to that year. The

TABLE 31—MODERN LANGUAGE ENROLMENTS IN CONTINUATION SCHOOLS FROM 1904 TO 1927

Year	Enrolment			Per Cent. Pupils in	
	Total	in French	in German	French	German
1911	5753	3401	165	59.11	2.86
1912	6094	3519	184	57.74	3.01
1913	5544	3163	177	57.05	3.19
1914	6069	3846	177	63.37	2.91
1915	6800	4420	160	65.00	2.35
1916-17	5082	3627	81	71.36	1.59
1917-18	5104	4025	73	78.85	1.43
1918-19	5006	4074	48	81.38	.95
1919-20	5126	4263	24	83.16	.46
1920-21	5823	5886	10	87.34	.17
1921-22	7505	6066	1	80.82	—
1922-23	8777	5933	—	67.60	—
1923-24	9337	6398	—	68.52	—
1924-25	10545	7082	—	67.16	—
1925-26	9944	7056	—	70.96	—
1926-27	9654	7214	—	74.72	—

attendance in French and German manifests a general parallelism to that of the high schools. The decline in the former language since 1921-22 has evidently been the result of the curricular revision of the time, and the consequent postponement in many schools of the French course to the higher years. The most striking development revealed by the table and discussed elsewhere in this chapter is the complete disappearance of German.

The French and German curricula have remained

virtually unaltered during the period under discussion and have continued to be conditioned, especially in the higher years, by the external examinations. As these have remained essentially unmodified since the beginning of the century, the methods of instruction in the schools have in the main not been changed during this period. The grammar-translation method still holds undisputed sway, since any other method would be prejudicial to success at the examinations. Consequently by far the greater portion of the student's time is spent on the weary, drab and disheartening task, devoid of any significance or present motive to the learner, of turning English sentences—usually disconnected sentences—into French or German; a much smaller share of time on the actual reading of foreign language texts; and, despite the exhortations contained in the syllabus of studies, only scant attention is being given in the crowded and unequal classes to *viva voce* exercises in the foreign languages.

In this connection the testimony of an English inspector who recently visited our high schools, Mr. E. G. Savage, one of His Majesty's inspectors of secondary schools in England, is of more than usual interest. To quote:

> "In the languages, Latin and French, the rate of progress considering the age of the pupils, is slow. The writer desires to avoid comparisons, but in this case it must be said that progress is slower than under any other system with which he is acquainted. The many periods during which accidence and systax alone are studied are so long drawn out that pupils lose interest in the subjects (the expression commonly used is that they 'find them hard' but it means the same thing). It is suggested that in both cases reading of real texts should be begun much sooner, and that less time should be spent on laboriously working through exercises in which it is very difficult to find any real interest. They become a succession of tests of the ability to juggle with case endings and verb

> forms, but if these are not constantly encountered in the live words of a real author, they become obliterated in the memory and no real appreciation of their use is retained by the time actual reading is begun."[1]

The general methodology of the modern language school books, as of the teachers, has changed but little during the period under review, though new and improved text-books have been authorized from time to time. In 1909 appeared a new and vastly improved edition of Van der Smissen and Fraser's *Ontario High School German Grammar* and four years later a new edition of Fraser and Squair's *French Grammar*, was brought out, which is still, with some insignificant changes, on the authorized list. The German grammar was supplanted in 1925 by a new book, from the pens of Professors A. E. Lang and G. H. Needler of the University of Toronto, conceived on a plan differing from that of its predecessor and designed to introduce the learner early to reading German.

The readers, too, have been changed in recent years. A new German reader, edited by Professor A. E. Lang, was authorized in 1911, and is still in use. The French reader which was authorized the same year has since been changed twice, in 1921 and 1927, each preceding text-book being followed by a markedly improved work. The last-named edition especially is incomparably superior, both as to format and contents, to the preceding books, and has supplied a long-felt want in furnishing reading matter graded to suit the comprehension of the various stages of the learner. The French reader of 1911 was edited by Mr. (now Professor) W. C. Ferguson, who was also joint editor with Mr. (now Professor) H. S. McKellar of the 1921 edition, both of whom, jointly with Miss Alice Wilson, edited the latest authorized book.

[1]See Report of the Minister of Education, 1926, p. 31.

While the French reader and, to a lesser extent, the French grammar and German reader, have been changed at fairly frequent intervals, the modern language authors prescribed have remained largely unaltered in a generation or more. Some of them bid fair to exceed the span of life, in the Ontario secondary school curriculum, of *Télémaque*, and others have already surpassed the duration of the popularity of *Charles XII* or Horace. A number of authors that were in vogue at the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century and earlier are still the rage today. Thus a relatively small number of books have been used in recurring cycles for from thirty to fifty years. A few examples will prove enlightening. Souvestre, *Un Philosophe sous les Toits*, was first prescribed in 1878 and last prescribed in 1924; Scribe, *Le Verre d'Eau*, was read in the high schools as early as 1887 and as late as 1910; Hauff, *Das kalte Herz*, 1887 and 1923; Labiche, *Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon*, 1891 and 1928. Of the nine texts to be read in the four French and German courses in 1929, two were first prescribed in 1891, one in 1896, two in 1897, two during the first decade of the present century, and only two more recently.

The longevity of these texts is the more surprising as they were not originally selected, as the earlier authors had been, as specimens of French and German classical literature. In fact some of them can lay but doubtful claim to artistic merit and a few cannot even be classed as literature in any strict sense of the word. For although several of the books possess undoubted literary excellence, they were in the first place chosen mainly for other qualities—qualities that made them peculiarly valuable as modern language text-books,—such as their naturalness of dialogue, their exemplification of current colloquial usages, and especially for the light they threw, at the time

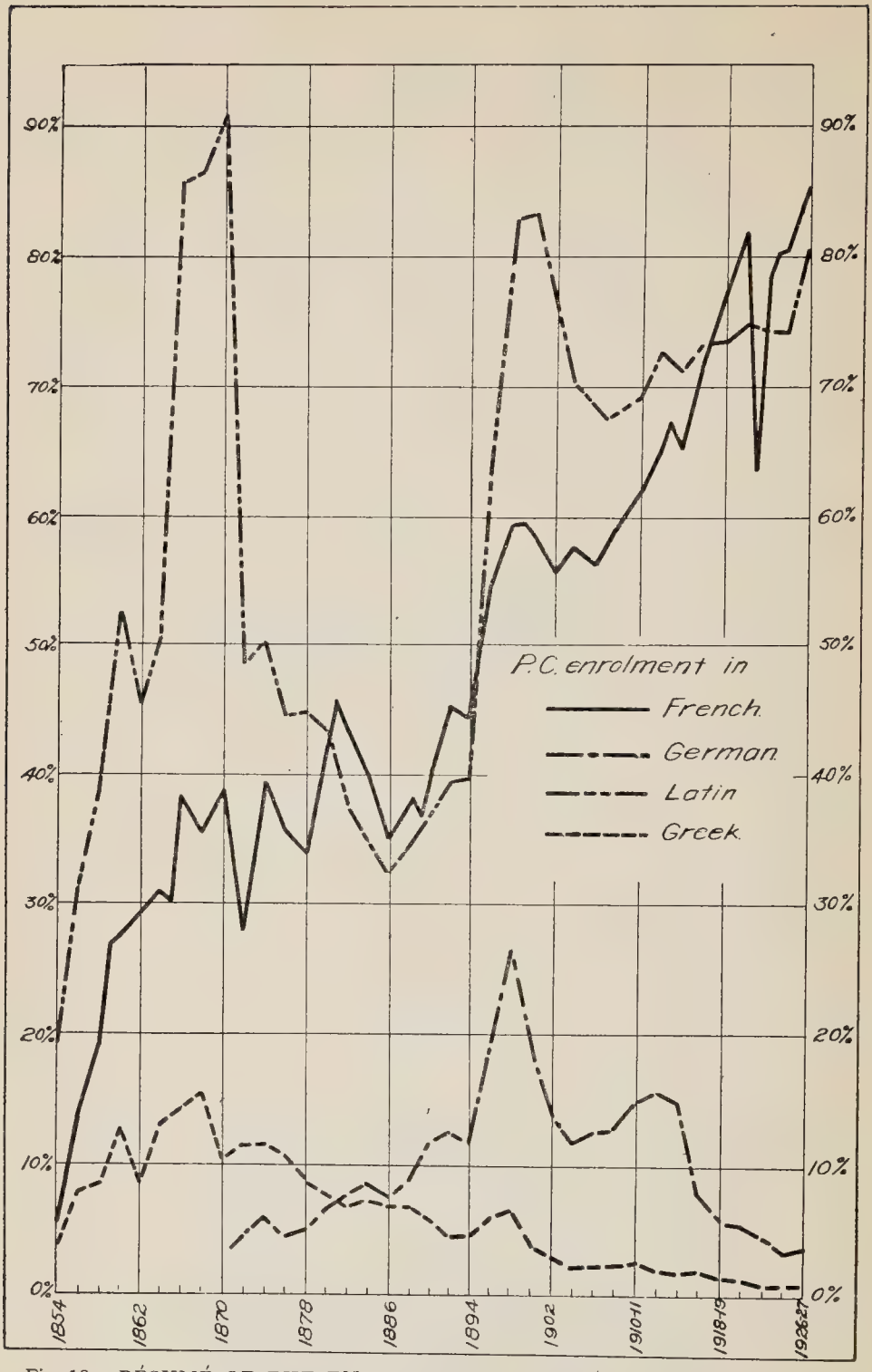

Fig. 13.—RÉSUMÉ OF THE ENROLMENTS IN THE LANGUAGES IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS BETWEEN 1854 AND 1927

The percentage of pupils enrolled in French, German, Latin, and Greek respectively is shown. The reasons for the rises and falls in the registration are discussed in various chapters of this study.

of their prescription, on the prevailing social conditions, customs, tastes, and aspirations of the peoples in whose languages they were written. But momentous changes have been wrought in the course of a generation not only in the social and economic structures and in the modes of life delineated in the books, but there have occurred slight modifications even in the languages in which they are written and whose vernacular usages they were intended to exemplify. In a word, the modern language authors that are read in the schools today have ceased to be *contemporary* both as regards their subject matter and, to some extent, as regards their colloquial idioms. These works constitute, in a sense, together with the prevailing grammar-translation method, the anachronisms of the present school curriculum.

The story of the teaching of modern languages in the secondary schools of Ontario has now been told. We have peered into their remote and obscure beginnings over a hundred years ago, we have watched their uncertain and timid and vacillating movements for more than thirty years thereafter, and then we saw them emerge, sixty years ago, greatly strengthened and vivified, to battle with increasing vigour for curricular recognition, still later grappling for mastery with the aboriginal dwellers of the school programme, over whom they triumphed. They throve and grew to a towering height,—a doubtful advantage—the giants of the curriculum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CONSULTED

ORIGINAL SOURCES

A. Manuscript Material:

Minute Book of the Modern Language Association of Ontario, for the years 1886-1919.

Miss Proudfoot's Account Book (1835), in the library of the University of Western Ontario.

Ontario Bureau of Archives, in Toronto. Various documents.

Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa. Various documents in "Educational Papers" and "Sundries".

Special Reports by the Grammar School Inspectors for the years 1855-1876, in the Department of Education, Toronto.

B. Government Documents:

Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education, for the years 1845-46–1875 (Ryerson's Reports), 29 vols.

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Assembly, for the years 1825-26–1845.

Regulations and Courses of Study, prescribed by the Department of Education. Various years.

Reports of the Minister of Education, for the years 1876-1926, 51 vols.

C. Other Original Documents:

Calendars of the University of Toronto, for the years 1857–1927-28.

Hodgins, J. G., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, 28 vols. (Toronto, 1894–1910).

Hodgins, J. G., *Historical Educational Papers and Documents*, 6 vols. (Toronto, 1911-12).

Matriculation Examination Papers in French and German, for the years 1860-1927.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Alexander, W. J. (ed.), *The University of Toronto and its Colleges*, 1827-1906 (Toronto, 1906).

Bahlsen, L., *The Teaching of Modern Languages* (Boston, 1905).

Baker, G. H., *Some References to German Literature in English Magazines of the Early Eighteenth Century*, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, pp. 111 ff.

Bannister, J. A., *Early Educational History of Norfolk County* (Toronto, 1926).

Bell, K., *Education, Secondary and University* [in Ontario] in Vol. XVIII of *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914).

Bell, W. N., *The Development of the Ontario High School* (Toronto, 1918).
Bethune, A. N., *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan* (Toronto, 1870).
Canada Educational Monthly (Toronto, 1879-1905). Various numbers.
Canniff, W., *History of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, 1872).
Carnochan, J., *History of Niagara* (Toronto, 1914).
Coleman, H. T. J., *Public Education in Upper Canada* (New York, 1907).
Coulon, E., *Poetical Leisure Hours and Torontonian Descriptions* (Toronto, 1897).
Davis, C. O., *Our Evolving High School Curriculum* (New York and Chicago, 1927).
Dickson, G. and Adam, G. M. (editors), *A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892* (Toronto, 1893).
Edgar, Lady Matilda, *Ten Years of Upper Canada . . . 1805-1815* (Toronto, 1890).
Gourlay, R., *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, 3 vols. (London, 1822).
Handschin, C. H., *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*, U.S. Bureau of Education, bulletin No. 3, 1913.
Hirschfelder, J., *A Key to German Conversation* (Toronto, 1845).
Hodgins, J. G., *The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1910).
Hodgins, J. G. (ed.), *The Laws relating to Grammar and Common Schools* (Toronto, 1860).
Hodgins, J. G. (ed.), *Grammar School Manual* (Toronto, 1866).
Hodgins, J. G., *Ryerson Memorial Volume* (Toronto, 1889).
Hopkins, J. C. (ed.), *Canada, an Encyclopædia of the Country* (Toronto, 1898-99). Articles on "The Provincial Educational System" and "The Universities and Higher Educational System of Canada."
Hunter, A. F., *The Ethnographical Elements of Ontario*, in the *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, Vol. III, pp. 180-199 (1901).
Karr, W. J., *The Training of Teachers in Ontario* (Ottawa, 1916).
King, J., *McCaul, Croft, Forneri* (Toronto, 1914).
Machar, A. M., *The Story of Old Kingston* (Toronto, 1908).
Macpherson, W. E., *The Ontario Grammar Schools*, bulletin No. 21, Queen's University (Kingston, 1916).
McNabb, J. J., *The Development of Higher Education in Ontario* (Toronto, 1925).
Millar, J., *The Educational System of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, 1893).
Monroe, P. (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, 1911). Articles on "German Influence on American Education" and "Modern Languages and Literature".
Morgan, H. J., *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862).
Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. VI, pp. 136 ff. Article on "Lutheran Church Records".
Pakenham, W., *The Public School System* [of Ontario] in Vol. XVIII of *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914).
Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association. Various years.
Putman, J. H., *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1912).
Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages in . . . Great Britain (London, 1918).
Robertson, J. R., *Landmarks of Toronto*, third series (Toronto, 1898).
Rose, G. M. (ed.), *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1886).
Ross, G. W., *The School System of Ontario* (New York, 1896).

Scadding, H., *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873).
Squair, J., *John Seath and the School System of Ontario* (Toronto, 1920).
Strachan, J., *A Letter to the Reverend A. N. Bethune . . . on the Management of Grammar Schools* (York, 1829).
Text-books. Various text-books in French and German prescribed from time to time.
The Journal of Education (edited by Ryerson), 29 vols., 1848-1876 (Toronto).
Thomas, C. (chairman), *Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America*, submitted in 1898 (New York, 1900).
Viëtor, W., *Der Sprachunterricht Muss Umkehren*, 1882 (third edition, Leipzig, 1905).
Wallace, W. S., *A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927* (Toronto, 1927).
Wallace, W. S., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1926).
Walter, M., *Die Reform des Neusprachlichen Unterrichts* (second edition, Marburg in Hessen, 1912).
Waterloo Historical Society, Fifth Annual Report (Kitchener, 1917) and Fourteenth Annual Report (Kitchener, 1926).
Young, A. H., *The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, Toronto, Jan. 1830 to June 1916* (Kingston, 1917).

Date Due

MAR 0 0 1990

APR 14 1986 BL

CAT. NO. 23 233 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PB 38 .C3 G6
Goldstick, Isidore
Modern languages in the Ontari
010101 000
0 1163 0236223 5
TRENT UNIVERSITY

PB38 .C3G6
Goldstick, Isidore
Modern languages in the
Ontario high school.
DATE | ISSUED TO
67899